

ing'ncils g how n arts panel

ARK ARNOLD-FORSTER

ent-y-one of the 24 mem- of the Fine Art Panel e National Council for mas in Art and Design to resign in protest of the absorption of col- art in polytechnics. protest was first raised in guardian on Tuesday by ainter, Patrick Heron.

ng those who have since e reinforce the protest gning are the professors art at Leeds, Newcastle eading, the principal of a School of Art, and the al of Falmouth School of

council (NCDAD) is off- sponsible under the ment of Education, a d e, for the granting of dip- in British art schools. The tion of virtually the of the fine art section ts the most serious pos- challenge by the Govern- own advisers against the of incorporating art in polytechnics.

who have decided to agree with Mr Heron art schools that have a part of a polytechnic d enjoy the academic and ancial freedom they need ar to flourish.

derstand that the follow- prominent artists and rs of art who have d to resign are:

Adams, the sculptor; erick Brill, principal of sea School of Art; Ralph n, senior lecturer in ure, Bristol Polytech- Robert Gowers, head or us to get on to their trails as quickly as possible," police on the Continent said last night. "If, as we fear, there are more shipments bound for Northern Ireland, we must smash the whole ring as quickly as pos- sible and not give it time to make alternative arrangements for delivery."

Police are also looking for David O'Connell, the Provisional IRA agent believed to be in

Je Monchaux, head of ture at Camberwell of Art; Miles Murphy, er in painting at sea School of Art; Pro- Claude Rogers, profes- fine art, Reading Univ- Professor Kenneth three, professor of fine Newcastle University; Uglow, lecturer in ing at the Slade School; Wall, head of sculpture, al School of Art; son; Tom Hudson, head ne art, Cardiff College of Jones, the the ator and a past chairman urn to back page, col. 8

ourth son bath

Maniben Parmar, mother three Bradford children in a fire at their home ury, died in Bradford infirm yesterday from ets of smoke. The police aid they are satisfied that as no racial or political behind the fire, or any of the fires which occurred recently in rd.

rod comrades

bers of the former SS n Das Reich, which mas- over 600 men, women dren at Oradour, France, day wound up a weekend ce to form an old com- association. The chair- f the association pledged preserve the comradeship last war sealed in blood.

nston archive

rchill College, Cambridge, ned yesterday that Sir n Churchill's papers are housed permanently at e. They will be placed rchive centre being with money provided by mous American benefac- The master of the college, sor Sir William Haw- said it was too early to hen the papers would be ie to scholars.

leindeer run

Royal Navy is to transport uder to the Chilean island varino at the southern tip th America to help the 200 ers start a meat herd. ers of the crew of the Ice Endurance have been hav- ssions on how to catch the

IRA may have more arms cargoes ready

By PETER HARVEY

Scotland Yard and Continental police are involved in a race against time to prevent further shipments of arms and ammunition reaching the IRA.

The seizure of four tons of Czech-made weapons at Schiphol airport, Amsterdam, on Saturday has led to the first real breakthrough in the security campaign against the Northern Ireland gun-running organisation. Detectives now fear that two more large consignments of weapons were bought during the past month. It is believed the orders were placed with arms dealers in Munich and Zurich, and that tons of weapons may already be on the move across Europe.

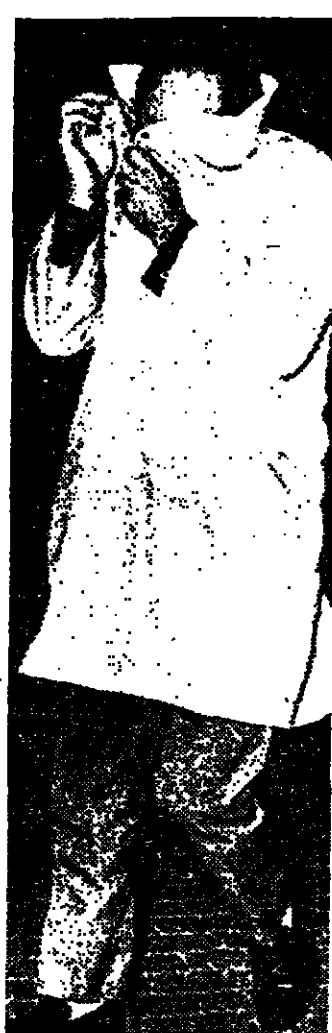
Information obtained by British and Dutch security in the past three days indicates that representatives of the Provisional wing of the IRA have deliberately arranged for staggered delivery dates and varying routes in an attempt to ensure that at least some of the arms reach their destination.

British Intelligence and Scotland Yard yesterday flew officers to Amsterdam to take part in the operation, and issued an urgent appeal through Interpol to all Western European security organisations for assistance.

Last night, teams of officers were working at airports from Paris to Copenhagen, searching cargo aircraft, checking manifests and delivery papers, and questioning staff. Continental police believe that at least one other consignment was due to travel by air.

The Amsterdam raid may have forced the men handling any other shipments to "go underground" with their cargoes. "But in that case, it makes it even more important for us to get on to their trails as quickly as possible," police on the Continent said last night. "If, as we fear, there are more shipments bound for Northern Ireland, we must smash the whole ring as quickly as possible and not give it time to make alternative arrangements for delivery."

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THE AMERICAN—Ernst A. Koenig who was aboard the arms charter aircraft, hides his face after his arrest



THE BELGIAN—J. van Homweghen, who piloted the aircraft



THE IRISHMAN—David O'Connell, of the IRA Provisionals, who is believed to be the purchasing agent for the weapons

Two more soldiers die in ambushes

From SIMON WINCHESTER in Belfast

A weekend of skillfully planned and executed ambushes by the IRA in Northern Ireland has resulted in the deaths of two more British soldiers and the wounding of two unarmed senior police officers. A third soldier died from injuries received during an ambush two days ago, bringing to 23 the number of British soldiers killed this year.

The RUC has suffered five casualties during the past 72 hours — two plain clothes men shot dead, and three uniformed officers now lying gravely injured in hospital.

Allegations of brain-washing interrogation of internees in Ulster will be discussed in strict secrecy at 10 Downing Street this afternoon by Mr Heath and Mr Wilson and Mr Callaghan who are deeply anxious about the reports carried in the "Sunday Times".

Mr Brian Faulkner, the Northern Ireland Prime Minister, yesterday rejected the reports: "There has been no brutality of any kind against either detainees or internees."

It is understood that the attacks on the police, regarded as the latest of an evolving tactical plan of the IRA, may result in a modification of Stormont Government policy towards making arms available to the Police Reserve Force.

Several members of the Cabinet are known to be in favour; one senior Minister said last night that there was little point in having a reserve that was of no use "except for making the tea inside the police barracks."

The Reserve Force, 1,500 strong, was established at the beginning of 1970 and recruiting began in May of that year. It is believed that the force is largely made up of former members of the Ulster Special Constabulary — the B specials — and it is under the command of the RUC. As an armed force it might give some cause for alarm in Ulster's liberal circles that the B specials were being reconstituted.

The deaths of the soldiers over the weekend has been balanced by the certain fatal shooting of one Republican terrorist and the suspected killing of another during the gun battle in East Belfast late on Saturday night. The body of one suspected gunman was recovered by soldiers

but the other, which fell 40ft from a roof-top sniping perch, was dragged away into the ghetto.

It may be some days before the deaths column in the Belfast daily newspaper, the "Irish News", "Suddenly at home" — will allow an accurate balance sheet to be drawn up.

The killings of the soldiers, one in Londonderry on Saturday, the other on Belfast's Ballymurphy housing estate yesterday afternoon, both follow accurately the template of most recent sniping incidents.

The Scots Guard killed in Ballymurphy, near last night as Guardsman George Hamilton, aged 21, from Port Ellen on the Isle of Islay, was one of a foot patrol on duty in Glenalina Drive.

Major Michael Norton, company commander, said that as the patrol went down the street the residents "suddenly became very quiet." There was a sudden burst of gun fire from a side street and Guardsman Hamilton was hit and fell down. One of our soldiers fired back but the gunman ran off.

The other soldiers who died were named yesterday as Private Joseph Hill, a member of the Royal Green Jackets, killed in the Bogside on Saturday, and Sergeant Graham Cox of the Parachute Squadron, Royal Armoured Corps, who died yesterday morning from the wounds he received during an ambush in Belfast earlier in the week.

However tragic the killing of the soldiers, security forces regard the shooting of policemen as a substantially more sinister development and part of a new policy of the Provisional IRA. The two policemen injured on Saturday night — Superintendent George Moore and Chief Inspector William

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Government needs Labour help to win EEC vote

By FRANCIS BOYD, Political Correspondent

The Government could be defeated at the end of the Commons debate on Market entry—unless the Tory pro-Marketees are saved by the votes of Labour MPs who back entry.

The debate, which starts on Thursday, lasts six days and will end with a vote on October 28. At least 30 Tories who have not been mollified by Government arguments may vote against entry.

Mr Jasper More, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, is resigning his post as a Government Whip in protest against the Cabinet's decision to accept the terms of entry. He joins Mr Edward Taylor, who earlier gave up a junior appointment in the Scottish Office.

If the Government were defeated it would, in the view of Mr Anthony Barber, Chancellor of the Exchequer, have to resign. It is hard to imagine that in such circumstances any other Tory MP would be able to form a successor Tory Government.

Mr Enoch Powell, who is passionately against entry, said at Brighton that he saw no reason why the Government should resign on such an issue. But Mr Powell forgot that Mr Heath is totally identified with entry.

Mr Heath, it is feared, might still be prepared by Labour to win, and the odds are that Labour's campaign would be fought far more on domestic questions—unemployment, cost of living, and so on—than on the terms of entry into the EEC, except in so far as the Tories are held to have a direct bearing on domestic issues.

What the electors would make of an election fought in this way is hard to guess: the mood might be one of apathy or of contempt.

The Government still hopes that Labour's Marketees will guarantee Ministers the victory. If Labour votes were to save the Government from defeat,

Million jobless by next month

By KEITH HARPER

The number of unemployed in Britain will exceed one million by next month unless there is a remarkable reversal in the rising trend in the coming four weeks.

Final figures for October have still to be prepared by the Department of Employment. When they are issued on Thursday they will show another large increase on the already record level of 929,121. The total is expected to exceed 950,000.

The figures will be a reminder to Mr Heath that while he was still to be prepared by Labour to win, and the odds are that Labour's campaign would be fought far more on domestic questions—unemployment, cost of living, and so on—than on the terms of entry into the EEC, except in so far as the Tories are held to have a direct bearing on domestic issues.

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admit privately that this could mean any time between now and next spring.

Mr Robert Carr, Secretary for Employment, will see leaders of the Confederation of British Industry this week to discuss the situation. This follows the publication of the latest CBI industrial trends survey which indicates a continued worsening of employment prospects in spite of a revival of economic activity.

Firms are expecting a continued shakeout of labour, especially those employing more than 5,000 people. Thirty per cent of firms which filled in a CBI questionnaire expect to reduce their work forces in the next four months compared with 8 per cent who are expecting employment to rise.

This week, too, will see the start of the Government's attempt to hold down wages awards in the public sector to rate at which redundancies are about 7 per cent. Tomorrow, occurring, they are so common-place now that sometimes they fail to get the national attention they deserve. The other day English China Clays announced a reduction of 12½ per cent in its labour force.

On Wednesday, more than one million building workers will be demanding a new deal, which the employers reckon amounts to a 77 per cent increase. With them, on the same day, will be 115,000 electricity supply workers who want "substantial" increases.

Textile industry's fears, back page

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OVERSEAS NEWS

Warning by India as Yahya suggests 'mutual withdrawal'

BY OUR FOREIGN STAFF

The Indian Defence Minister, Mr Jagjivan Ram, gave a warning yesterday that if war were thrust on India she would not withdraw from captured Pakistani cities. But there were reports from Karachi that President Yahya Khan had suggested that both sides withdraw from the frontier.

The warning from Mr Ram came as authorities in the Punjab, bordering West Pakistan, Mr Ram, speaking near Jullundur in Northern India, about 50 miles from the frontier, said Indian forces would not pull back until the East Pakistani crisis was solved. "India will not submit to world pressure in this regard," he said.

Dacca guerrillas start offensive

From MARTIN WOOLLACOTT: Dacca, October 17

New guerrilla groups infiltrated into the Dacca area in the past three weeks have begun a vigorous offensive, disrupting the calm which followed the bombing of the Intercontinental Hotel early in September.

The new groups tried to shell Dacca airport at Dacca's satellite port they exploded bulk gas pipes and burnt a huge quantity of jute awaiting shipment. As part of their campaign to close educational institutions, they bombed the university medical school after warning students to leave. One girl had missed the warning and was seriously hurt.

The guerrillas are also thought responsible for the killing, four days ago, of Mr Abdul Monem Khan, who was Governor of East Pakistan under President Ayub Khan. Some non-Bangla Desh university groups had hoped he would return to politics. But some believe the killing may have been an act of private revenge.

In a development ominous for the United Nations, a grenade was hurled two nights ago at their headquarters in a Dacca suburb. But it did not explode.

The most worrying incident for the military authorities was the attempted attack on the airport. The three-inch bombs, in fact, fell on the cholera laboratory. There was much perplexity about this until it was realised that the laboratory is in a direct line with the airfield, and that the shells, which must have been fired without a forward observer to correct the aim, had fallen only 600 yards short of the field.

As a result of these and other incidents the army and police in Dacca are tense and on full alert. Residents say more troops are in the city than a few weeks ago.

Pakistani job fears

Unemployment is becoming a graver problem in West Pakistan, trade union sources say. In Karachi, largest industrial centre in the country, about 35 per cent of a work force of 400,000 is reported out of work.

Union members say 75 Government and private businesses in Karachi and Hyderabad have dismissed or laid off nearly 10,000 workers, mostly since August.

The unemployment rate throughout the country in March was estimated at about 20 per cent. In East Pakistan the rate was 33 per cent.

Government officials decline to discuss the situation, or to give figures. The Government has not ruled out the right to strike. But its ban on meetings and processions reduces the likelihood of a strike being effective.

Mr Nabil Ahmed, general secretary of the West Pakistan Workers' Federation, asked: "If I don't have permission to hold meetings, if I can't assemble at the factory gate, how can I strike?"

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MR KOSYGIN, the Soviet Prime Minister, threatened to intervene in the Six-Day War as Israel was considering her stunning victory by mopping up resistance on the Golan Heights.

Ex-President Lyndon Johnson recalls this tense message delivered on June 10, 1967, on the Moscow-Washington hotline in his forthcoming White House memoirs, excerpts of which were published here today by the "Washington Post" and the "New York Times".

Mr Johnson said he replied to the Soviet threat of military intervention by sending the 8th Fleet to within 50 miles of the Syrian coast and that this effectively caused the Russians to back down. He claimed, however, that Israel's action in springing the pre-emptive strike against Syria was not to allow the United States to get the Gulf of Akaba reopened and secure a peaceful settlement.

The tone of the memoirs is as to be expected, argumentative and politically defensive, and never more so than on the subject of Vietnam. Mr Johnson puts down much of his trouble there to the Kennedy Administration's part in overthrowing the Diem regime.

Referring to reports that civilians were being evacuated from the West Pakistani cities of Lahore and Sialkot, he said: "If war is thrust on us by the Pakistani military junta, our forces will march forward and occupy these cities. This time we will not withdraw from the occupied Pakistani territory, come what may."

He said President Yahya had begun making threats of war against India because guerrilla forces fighting for an independent Bangla Desh were gaining ground. "We are fully prepared to meet such threats even though we know barking dogs seldom bite," Mr Ram said.

At a banquet in honour of President Tito, President Girdi said Indian resources had been strained to the maximum by the nine million refugees India had absorbed. "We are not prepared to maintain the refugees much longer. She was determined that they should go home in conditions of safety and dignity. "We are convinced that the only lasting and practical solution lies in the restoration of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people of East Bengal."

Discussions President Tito, who is on a four-day visit, will discuss the problem with Mrs Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, today. Although she considers the situation along the border very serious, there has been no indication that Mrs Gandhi intends to alter plans for a three-week tour of Western Europe and the United States.

President Yahya's proposal was reported by the Associated Press of Pakistan to have been made to Mr Podgorny, the Soviet President. They met last week at Persepolis, during the Iranian anniversary celebrations.

The agency report said: "President Yahya told President Podgorny that if Indian professions of peace were genuine, they should withdraw their armed forces from the borders of Pakistan, and cease infiltration and other hostile acts. Pakistan on its part would also withdraw its armed forces from present defensive positions along the borders."

President Podgorny was also reported to have had talks in Persepolis with President Girdi. This was considered normal in view of the Indo-Soviet treaty of friendship.

Sources in Tehran suggested that the Soviet Union may have been attempting mediation between India and Pakistan. President Podgorny was said to have made proposals aimed at initiating talks over the situation in East Pakistan.

The Concordat between Spain and the Vatican says that Catholic clergy members convicted of criminal offences are permitted to serve the sentence in a monastery or similar religious houses.

But the Concordat is bitterly resented by many priests. Zamora apparently holds most of the rebel priests of the new Church militant. At the last count there were 17, but some may have been released.

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President Diem which he regarded as "a serious blunder."

Mr Johnson says that his expansion of the US military role in Vietnam grew directly out of the Diem coup which caused a period of chaos and instability lasting nearly two years. Mr Johnson claims that he foresaw the 1968 Tet attack but conceded he was perhaps ill-advised not to have forewarned the American public that such a suicidal effort was in prospect.

"In retrospect I think I was too cautious. If I had forecast the possibilities, the American people would have been better prepared for what was soon to come."

Mr Johnson gives a graphic account of the assassination of President Kennedy's assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, the motorcade, he recalls, was travelling at about 15 mph when he heard an explosion. "Before the echo had subsided... Agent Youngblood, spun around, showed me on the shoulder to push me down and shouted to all of us, 'get down.' Almost at the same moment, he vaulted over the seat, pushed me to the floor and sat on my

right shoulder to get me down and to protect me. . . .

"I still was not clear about what was happening. I was bent down under the weight of Agent Youngblood's body towards Ladybird and Senator Yarborough. . . . At some time in this sequence of events I heard other explosions. It was impossible to tell where they were coming from and I still was not certain what they were."

"Then a voice came crackling over the radio system, 'let's get out of here.' Suddenly our car accelerated and we wheeled round a corner careering over the curb almost, it seemed to me, on two wheels. . . . there was some frantic conversation coming over Youngblood's radio, along with grief, I felt anguish, compassion and a deep concern for Mrs Kennedy and the children."

Mr Johnson writes that he was then taken off by a large conveyer of secret service agents to the president's plane. Air Force One at Love Airfield. "About 2 15 the moment arrived against which I had been steeling myself — and dreading to the depth of my being. Mrs Kennedy was coming

aboard with the President's body. Ladybird and I were the rear of the plane to her."

"I had not seen Mrs Kennedy since morning while had gotten into our cars. I was shocked by sight that confronted me. . . . I saw that beautiful lady, her white gloves, her pink and her stockings and her husband's blood. There a dazed look in her eyes."

"I do not remember the conversation, it was really a conversation, clumsy, aching words of condolence and some half-choked sentences in. . . . Nothing anybody can say, such circumstances is the thing to say because no one can change the past. . . . Men are not very much such things. It was I, who said the most and words were most com and Mrs Kennedy replied Ladybird, we've always you both so much. . . . She was trying to offer us strength. We saw her bedroom and then let alone. Privacy seemed to kindness at such a time."

Mr Johnson says the first

word of President Kennedy's condition was given to him by the secret service agent in charge of the White House. "I was stunned. My President and leader . . . my confidant and friend . . . both shot; both undergoing emergency treatment just yards from where I stood; both for all I knew dying. The day which had begun so cheerfully had turned into a nightmare."

At about 1 20 pm Kenneth O'Donnell, Kennedy's appointments secretary, informed Johnson that the President was dead. "He's gone." I found it hard to believe that this nightmare had actually happened. . . . along with grief I felt anguish, compassion and a deep concern for Mrs Kennedy and the children."

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Desolation in high places

From ADAM RAPHAEL: Washington, October 17

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At about 1 20 pm Kenneth O'Donnell, Kennedy's appointments secretary, informed Johnson that the President was dead. "He's gone." I found it hard to believe that this nightmare had actually happened. . . . along with grief I felt anguish, compassion and a deep concern for Mrs Kennedy and the children."

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aboard with the President's body. Ladybird and I were the rear of the plane to her."

"I had not seen Mrs Kennedy since morning while had gotten into our cars. I was shocked by sight that confronted me. . . . I saw that beautiful lady, her white gloves, her pink and her stockings and her husband's blood. There a dazed look in her eyes."

"I do not remember the conversation, it was really a conversation, clumsy, aching words of condolence and some half-choked sentences in. . . . Nothing anybody can say, such circumstances is the thing to say because no one can change the past. . . . Men are not very much such things. It was I, who said the most and words were most com and Mrs Kennedy replied Ladybird, we've always you both so much. . . . She was trying to offer us strength. We saw her bedroom and then let alone. Privacy seemed to kindness at such a time."

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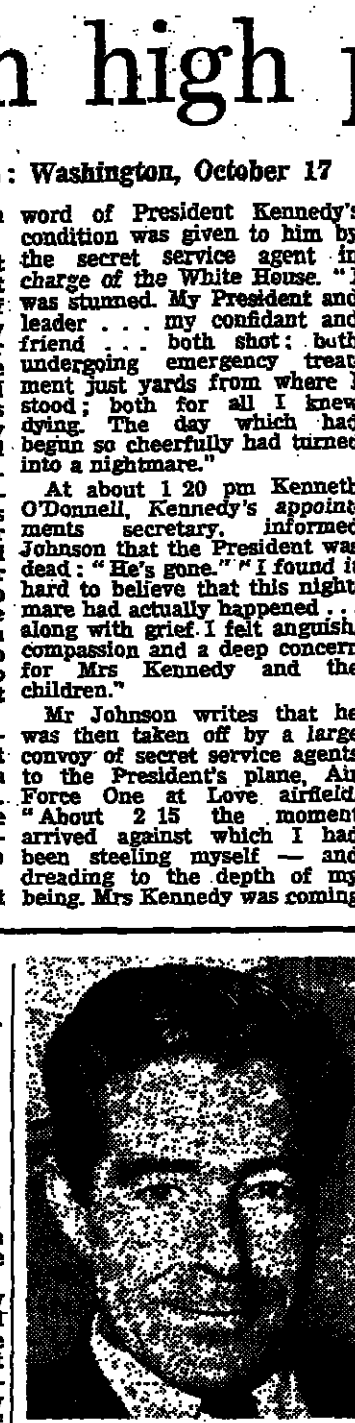
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Mr Servan-Schreiber

M. Faure suffers defeat

From NESTA ROBERTS

Paris, October 17

M. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber has won his duel with M. Maurice Faure for the presidency of the Radical Party.

This afternoon the annual party conference at Suresnes elected him by 431 votes to 267 in an ambience reminiscent of an American political jamboree. Incidental effects included the booing and shouting down of M. Faure, a former Minister and president of the Radical Party since 1961.

After his election M. Servan-Schreiber said his immediate intentions were the enlarging and strengthening of the party in order to launch it as a party of reform, but reform without upheaval.

M. Servan-Schreiber's concept of the broadening of the Radical Party seems to include the possibility of advancing to almost every political faction and individual in sight. There are to be approaches, among others to "my friends" M. Francois Mitterrand and M. Gaston Defferre.

M. Servan-Schreiber was the power behind the throne in his abortive effort to float a "grand federation" of the non-Communist Left, but 13 months ago he was sharply critical both of his "two friends" and of M. Pierre Mendès-France. It is probable, however, that M. Mitterrand — who, as recently elected leader of the Socialist Party, is busy preparing to launch before the Communists an agreed electoral policy — will be prepared to let bygones be bygones.

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Balkan summit in East Africa

From our Correspondent
Dakar-Salam, October 17

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Vorster hints at 'patriotic' press front

From STANLEY UYS: Cape Town, October 17

A massive "softening" of the opposition press is taking place in preparation for Mr Vorster's meeting with the chairmen and editors of all South African newspapers on Wednesday.

Mr Vorster has invited them to discuss the reporting of "delicate matters" affecting State security. The invitation follows the furore over his recent speech, which was interpreted almost unanimously by the press as meaning that South African forces had crossed the Zambian border in pursuit of guerrillas.

Mr Vorster denied angrily that he had said anything of the kind, and indicated that the reports had been greatly exaggerated. He warned the newspapers that if the talks on Wednesday fail, he would "take action" against them. With this threat over their heads, about a dozen newspaper chairmen, and some twenty editors, are getting ready to go to Pretoria.

"Die Transvaler", organ of Mr Vorster's ruling Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, not only reported that forces had crossed the border, but said there had been shooting. At first, Mr Vorster criticised all the newspapers. But last week he started to shift responsibility mainly to the opposition (English-language) newspapers. He and Government spokesmen have accused these newspapers of being unpatriotic and anti-Afrikaner, and of "stabbing South Africa in the back."

Mr Vorster's attacks on the press have been coupled with warnings by the Minister of Defence and the Commandant-General of the defence force that South Africa has never been in greater peril than now, and that it is the duty of all South Africans to stand together - under Mr Vorster's leadership.

Mr Vorster is appealing, in fact, for a "patriotic front." "There is only one way to meet this crisis," he said last week, "and that is to strengthen the hand of the leaders of the Nationalist Party who are prepared to fight this issue." But apart from vague allegations

... Hippy diet 'could be deadly'...
... A RIGID "health food" diet popular among many young people was condemned yesterday by the American Medical Association as bad for health and even possibly leading to death.

Caught in the eye of South Africa's storm

From our Correspondent
Dakar-Salam, October 17

Through a vast network of informers and a highly trained police force, the South African Government keeps a close eye on visitors and sometimes reacts harshly to those who ask too many questions. Some foreign journalists seem to be kept under periodic, if not constant, surveillance. Before my eventual deportation, I was subject to police raids, harassment by agents, provocateur, and threats by right-wing citizens. My telephone may have been tapped and I felt I was followed at times.

For about six months I had no serious encounters with the police. I interviewed many South Africans including leading political figures: Dr Vorster, Albert Heiter, Helen Suzman, Piet Koornhof and Chief Gaisa Buthelez.

Several months ago, I gained access to the Hoek report, a politically sensitive Nationalist Party document. The report suggested economic and political links exist between the Nationalist Party and English liberal business interests, which claim to oppose apartheid.

It details the role of Anglo-American, a giant South African international corporation, headed by Harry Oppenheimer. This report was allegedly suppressed by Dr Vorster two years ago because it was feared it would weaken his voting base.

I suspect that my interest in the Hoek report increased the Government's interest in me. Ten days after I got the report, two Post Office officials came to my Johannesburg home to repair my telephone, which was in perfect working order. That evening I returned from the theatre to find my house

had been searched, my belongings rifled, and every piece of paper and document in sight missing. It was no ordinary theft. Typewriters, cameras, nearly \$200 in cash, and a stereo unit remained untouched. Nearly eight months of research and newspaper stories, including the 130-page report on the mutual collaboration of the nationalists and Anglo-American were involved.

The South African police denied taking the papers, but within a matter of weeks, I was declared persona non grata after my residence permit expired and the authorities refused to extend it. I was told to leave the country by September 15 or face six months in prison.

Surveillance... police raids... harassment by agents provocateur... threats... eventual deportation

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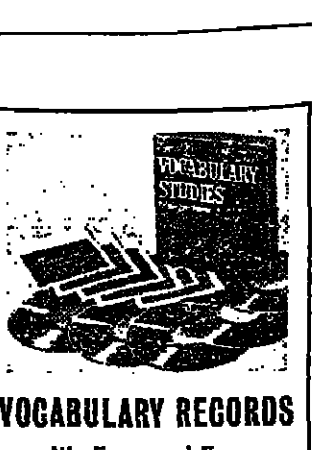
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Hoechst research increases road safety

Early perception of danger points, and the easy identification of traffic signs so that their messages can be instantly absorbed, are two of the greatest problems in road safety. The fluorescent colours at present being used to highlight black spots often fade after only a short time. But Hoechst research has now developed persistent fluorescent dyestuffs which possess the valuable attributes of maximum lightfastness and striking visual impact. These qualities improve identification of black spots, road works and workmen; of traffic signs, railway crossings and unlit roads. Indeed there is an almost inexhaustible number of identification uses. This is a major contribution by Hoechst to future road safety.

Ahead through systems thinking

The new fluorescent dyestuffs are the result of Hoechst know-how and experience in many fields. They are the products of collaboration between physicists and technicians engaged on research into dyestuffs and plastics. These researches have resulted in the development of new molecules which provide conventional fluorescent colour but with a lightfastness second to none. In consequence, signs continuously exposed to light and weather now retain their fluorescence. Systems thinking is the Hoechst

A leader's fatal love of uniform

From ROBERT REECE: Kuala Lumpur, October 17

... passion for military uniforms and knee-high boots may have cost the life of Subhashandra Bose.

... evidence given before the Government's commission of inquiry of one in Kuala Lumpur last week suggested Bose had died of burns in a Japanese military hospital on August 18, 1945, when his companions were unable to save his petrol-soaked uniform.

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Fears over timing of Moscow trip

By MICHAEL GETLER: Washington, October 17

A number of American defence specialists, already troubled over the continuing Soviet nuclear build-up, are also privately expressing concern about the timing of President Nixon's trip to Moscow next May. Although the President's unexpected announcement last week was apparently seen by the White House as necessary to balance his proposed trip to China, officials in several agencies say they are concerned about the potential impact on the forthcoming round of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT).

They fear that the early announcement may induce the Russian SALT negotiators to drag their feet and wait until next May—rather than earlier in the year—for an initial agreement to try to limit the arms race. Such an agreement in May, just six months before the presidential election, would not doubt be helpful to Mr. Nixon, the argument runs, but it would also expose the President to the possibility of a tough final stand by Moscow on unsettled issues.

Last May, when the leaders of both countries announced that they would try to break the deadlock over nuclear arms limitations, it was stated that they would try to reach an initial agreement by the end of this year. Sources close to the talks, however, say that even before the President announced his intended visit to Moscow it did not appear that an initial agreement could be reached before January or February.

What the officials are saying privately was expressed publicly on Friday by Senator Henry Jackson, a potential Democratic presidential candidate. He told reporters that the timing of the President's announcement, in his view, had given Moscow "a powerful weapon" to extract further concessions from the United States at the SALT talks.

Jackson adopts a firm position on the need for a strong American defence and is generally considered the only Democratic contender who could legitimately challenge the President on this issue. But some analysts feel that the longer the SALT agreement is delayed the more likely it is that the President will be squeezed and the harder time he may have in selling a resultant

MADISON AVENUE is not what it was. That most brazen pedlar of commercial dreams is in danger of turning into a pale, shuffling shadow of its old self.

The demise of the hard sell has come as a result of pressure by consumer groups led by Mr. Ralph Nader, and the Federal Trade Commission, which for the first time in its 50-year history, has begun to get tough on advertisers. Just how tough can be seen from the 60-second commercial which the Continental Baking Company has been sponsoring to the bewilderment of television viewers. "I'd like to clear up any misunderstandings you may have about Profile bread from its model girl says with a brave smile. 'Does Profile have fewer calories than other bread? No Profile has seven fewer calories per slice. That's because it's sliced thinner. But eating Profile will not cause you to lose weight... a reduction of seven calories is insignificant.'"

Under an agreed settlement with the commission, Continental is to devote 25 per cent of its Profile

advertising budget this year to similar "corrective advertising" to purge itself of past sins.

Mr. Randal Hackett, vice-president of the company, explained that it had acquiesced to protect its reputation. The publicity they get is what kills you," he said. "You're dead in the court of public opinion before you get a chance to present your side."

More public recantations are apparently in store, judging by the intriguing answers provided by major American and foreign car makers in response to a new regulation. This compels manufacturers, when challenged, to document publicly their advertising claims.

Thus General Motors, to back up its boast that the Chevrolet Chevelle has "100 advantages," testified that these included "classically simple new grilles," 15 exterior colours, balanced wheels and tyres, and safety

From ADAM RAPHAEL: Washington, October 17

and pollution features required by Federal Law. Ford's evidence that its new LTD saloon was "quieter than some of the most expensive cars" consisted of six-year-old test reports, mostly comparing 1966 Fords with older foreign cars, including a 1965 Rolls-Royce, a 1964 Alvis, and a 1963 Daimler with 27,000 miles on the clock.

The only proof that Volkswagen could apparently produce that the VW Ghia sports coupe "gives up to 26 mpg" was a page from an unnamed technical publication. General Motors did little better, submitting two test reports to substantiate that the Chevrolet Vega had "been getting in the neighborhood of 25 mpg." In one test, cars were driven no faster than 51 mph. In the other, unusual driving said to cause abnormally high fuel

consumption was omitted. If the commission is unconvinced, it can order the manufacturer to withdraw the offending advertising, or in extreme cases, to make a public retraction.

The car makers are only the first to go through this embarrassing hoop. Manufacturers of electric razors and air conditioners are next, and other products will follow at the rate of one a month. General Electric has been asked to prove that one of its room air conditioners provides "the clean freshness of clear, cool mountain air," while Norelco (Philips) has been asked to substantiate its claim that its micro thin heads shave up to 44 per cent closer... up to 50 per cent faster... than they ever could before.

The commission's new found enthusiasm for consumer protection stems

A doubt on Rap Brown

From STEPHEN ISAACS

New York, October 17. H. Rap Brown, the long-sought black militant whom many assumed was dead, was shot and captured here yesterday after what police said had been an attempted hold-up at a Manhattan bar on West Side.

His condition after a four-hour operation remained serious today. Two policemen were also injured.

The FBI in Washington confirmed the identification of Brown, who had not been seen in public since he dropped out of sight 17 months ago, on the eve of his scheduled trial in Maryland on arson and riot charges. Brown is a former leader of the Student National Coordinating Committee, originally known as the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

Police Commissioner Patrick Murphy said that Brown was among four or more men who held up about 25 patrons of the Red Carpet Lounge at 255 am. Three others were also apprehended: Levi Ballentine (24), of Chicago, and Arthur Young (26) and Sam Petty (23), of St. Louis, Missouri.

Brown was captured with a 357 Magnum revolver in his hand by a New York City patrolman who fired three shots when "Brown aimed his revolver at him." At the time, the Commissioner added, Brown was on top of the roof.

William M. Kunstler, Brown's lawyer, went to the hospital after obtaining police permission to visit him, but was denied entry by hospital authorities for what Kunstler called "medical reasons."

He said he had seen the man identified as Brown through a doorway at a distance of 20 feet or more, with a hair style and beard different from those he remembered.

The man was visited last night by Lynne Brown, Rap Brown's wife, and other members of the family—Washington Post.



Franciszek Gajowniczek with a portrait of Father Kolbe, the Franciscan who saved his life in Auschwitz.

Auschwitz hero beatified

Rome, October 17. THE POPE today beatified Father Maximilian Kolbe, the Polish priest who gave his life in Auschwitz concentration camp 30 years ago for a fellow prisoner.

The man Father Kolbe saved, Franciszek Gajowniczek, wept during the ceremony, in St. Peter's.

Gajowniczek, a former Polish army sergeant, now aged 70, carried to the Pope the Host used in the mass. The Pope embraced him.

Father Kolbe volunteered to replace Gajowniczek in the camp starvation cells after 10

inmates had been selected to die in reprisal for the escape of a prisoner. He was killed by an injection of carbolic acid.

In his address, the Pope said: "The picture of his death is so horrible and heartrending that we would prefer not to speak or think of it again."

"Millions were sacrificed to the pride of race and the folly of racism... History cannot allow us to forget this frightful chapter. Nor can it fail to fix its terrified gaze on the shining points which denounce it, but are linked to this inconceivable darkness."

"One of these points, and perhaps the most bright and glittering, is the exhausted, calm figure of Maximilian Kolbe."

Addressing crowds at his weekly blessing in St. Peter's square, the Pope said Father Kolbe seemed to represent "all the other obscure sacrifices consumed in that barbaric period."

Among the Pope's co-celebrants at mass were Cardinal Wysynski, Primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski of Krakow, Mgr Jan Zareba, a Polish bishop who escaped from a Nazi camp, and Cardinal Krol of Philadelphia, who is of Polish origin. — Reuters.

Turkey prepares for Queen

Ankara, October 17

The Queen will arrive here tomorrow for a week-long state visit to Turkey, the first ever by a ruling British sovereign. She will be met on her arrival by the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Charles, who themselves few in today from Iran, where they have been attending the Persian twenty-fifth centenary celebrations.

The Duke and the Princess were spending tonight at Izmir aboard the royal yacht Britannia, which later this week will take the visitors on a voyage through the Dardanelles to Istanbul. During her stay the Queen will also spend two days in Ankara and visit Izmir.

The royal visit, in return for a visit to London by President Cevdet Sunay four years ago, has been brought forward a year at Turkey's request.

Huge Union Jacks are already decorating the capital and if the weather is fine large crowds are expected to line the route of tomorrow's formal procession.

David Hirst on the Turkish revolutionaries, page 11.

The future generations—at a price

From our own Correspondent

Washington, October 17. New York's first commercial sperm bank opened this week-end for business with semen samples from 18 donors frozen in a stainless steel tank filled with liquid nitrogen at a temperature of 321 degrees F below zero.

The bank, the first in a national chain, charges clients about £22 to deposit their semen and £6 per year in storage fees. Most of the donors so far are men who wished to store quantities of semen before undergoing a vasectomy.

The samples are prepared for freezing in small glass vials and then stored inside the heavily insulated refrigerated tank, about the size of a washing machine, which can hold up to 1,000 vials. It has been calculated that enough sperm to provide for the present world population of three billion could in fact be kept in a tumbler.

On one wall of the New York bank stands its commercial message, a passage from the Old Testament: "From their seed they will perpetuate and for ever they will live."

Ageing and sick, President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia is looking anxiously at the question of who will succeed him. TREVOR TAYLOR comments

The supreme struggle

TUNISIA'S ONLY political party, the Destour Socialist Party, seems to have emerged successfully from its biggest test of recent years, its eighth party congress. The congress was a success because it produced a frank but not exclusively divisive speaking and because the party showed an ability to compromise. Whether this ability will survive the departure of President Habib Bourguiba, however, is another matter.

Political life in Tunisia has been strained for over two years because of a crisis which exploded in 1969 but which had its origins in 1964. In that year the Government nationalised all foreign-owned farms, which meant French and Italian estates in the North, and handed them over to Tunisia to be run as cooperatives. In the next five years an energetic and determined politician, Ahmed Ben Salah, who had control of all Ministries concerned with the economy, introduced a programme of turning all farms, and not just foreign-owned ones, into cooperatives.

The opposition of Tunisian farmers to this programme was extreme. Rather than become cooperatives they either sold off their stock and capital at rock bottom prices, or simply destroyed it. When cooperatives were set up they were hopelessly undercapitalised and were inadequately managed and one could be induced to work on them.

The rôle played in this by the local party cells was vital. In theory the cells were supposed to keep the Government informed of the people's attitude, but during the Ben Salah years this broke down completely. Communication in the party was from the top to the grass-roots: there was none going the other way because the cells were reluctant to pass on news of the hostilities to the cooperative programme.

By the autumn of 1969 the olive growers who provide the

basis of Tunisia's agricultural wealth were almost ready to revolt, and it was only then that the real picture of opposition to Ben Salah emerged. President Bourguiba, who founded the Destour Socialist Party in 1934 and has led Tunisia since its independence in 1956, immediately moved against Ben Salah, who between September and November 1969 was stripped of all his posts and was now serving a 10-year sentence.

The Ben Salah affair showed that changes were necessary in the political life of Tunisia, for the party had demonstrably failed by acting so persistently against the people's wishes. Almost immediately the country had more trouble. Bourguiba, then aged 66, became very ill with a liver complaint and had to leave for treatment in Paris. It was clear that the party might soon have to choose a method of finding his successor and decide who that successor should be.

Bourguiba stayed in Paris until June 1970, and when he returned he announced plans for the liberalisation of the country's political life, under which more power would be given to the party cells and the National Assembly and less to the President. There was a need to amend the system so that the party's grass-roots could express their views more clearly.

But since putting forward his reform programme over a year ago Bourguiba proved increasingly reluctant to implement it, arguing that the Tunisian people are not yet mature enough for the democracy and that they must be led to it slowly. In January this year he was again taken seriously ill and rushed to the Walter Reed Hospital in the United States. After convalescing for several months in Switzerland he returned to Tunisia in June.

In slowing down the reform programme Bourguiba was opposed by several leading

members of the party, including the former Defence Minister, Habib Ben Ammar, the former Information Minister, Habib Boulleas, the present Minister of Education, Chedli Ayari, and the leader of the "liberalisers," Achmed Mestiri, who was forced from his position as Minister of the Interior last month. These men were less convinced by the President's reforms than the President himself.

It was against this background that the eighth congress met. Such congresses are normally held every four years but this one had been repeatedly postponed because of Bourguiba's health. It was a political event of the first importance and on balance the party emerged well. All the main rivals to succeed Bourguiba — Prime Minister Hadi Nouria, who is Bourguiba's own choice, Foreign Minister Mohammed Masmoudi, former Prime Minister Badi Ladgham and Mestiri — were all well received by the 1,000 delegates.

The President who is anxious to see that his life's work is carried on properly, is keen to have a man of his own choice take over.

It was against this background that the eighth congress met. Such congresses are normally held every four years but this one had been repeatedly postponed because of Bourguiba's health. It was a political event of the first importance and on balance the party emerged well. All the main rivals to succeed Bourguiba — Prime Minister Hadi Nouria, who is Bourguiba's own choice, Foreign Minister Mohammed Masmoudi, former Prime Minister Badi Ladgham and Mestiri — were all well received by the 1,000 delegates.

At the end Bourguiba said that it had been decided that the congress should elect the party's central committee from which he would choose the men to make up the political bureau.



On the key issue of succession, the party is to choose a candidate who will be elected by universal suffrage. Bourguiba has made clear that he will leave office at latest in 1974 when his present term expires and that he wants Nouria to succeed him.

Several factors have helped to stabilise Tunisian politics and to hold the party together. First, the party is very pragmatic and once it has made an error it has had little theoretical difficulty in reversing its position. Secondly, Tunisians know that they need to have a stable political life if they are to attract the foreign aid which is desperately needed. Thirdly, Tunisian politicians, even Mestiri, have little interest in dividing and conquering the political party which has provided them with power.

Finally, and probably of decisive importance at this last congress, is the realisation that there is no point in making a serious bid for power while Bourguiba is still in control. Loyalty to the Supreme Struggle, as Bourguiba is known, is overwhelming.

Bourguiba's physical and mental condition is better now than it has been since 1969. Although he can still work for only part of a day he is able to chair meetings, make speeches and handle affairs of state. There is no means of knowing how much longer he will last but while he does Tunisian political peace seems assured. When he leaves, however, things could change.

'Graft' in high places

Rome, October 17

Two Government contract scandals affecting politicians and industrialists came to light this weekend, prompting one newspaper to ask "What will happen tomorrow?"

Late last night, Rome's Public Prosecutor, Signor Franco Piovino, investigating allegations of corruption in the State Highways Authority, asked parliamentary permission to open inquiries into the part played by two former Ministers of Public Works.

They are Lorenzo Natali, a Christian Democrat and at present Minister of Agriculture and Giacomo Mancini, secretary of the Socialist Party.

The first scandal, disclosed on Friday, involved a former chief of the Edison electrical company in accusations concerning the supplying of radios to the Italian Army, a company with which Signor Giorgio Valerio and 10 others were concerned won a contract to supply new radios containing at least 80 per cent of parts made in Italy.

They are accused of supplying, instead, United States Army surplus radios dating from the Second World War and containing 90 per cent American parts. The Government contract was worth about £2.9 millions.

The accusations against Signor Natali and Signor Mancini were handed up to the Chamber of Deputies. They allege responsibility for the actions of certain officials who are accused of corruption in the awarding of planning contracts for the building of roads, motorways, and bridges.

The men could face charges of seeking personal gain while holding public office — an offence carrying a maximum five-year prison sentence. Both are protected by parliamentary immunity, and it will be up to a parliamentary commission to decide.

A leading article in "Messaggero" linked the weekend's events to the growing social and economic ills afflicting the country — economic stagnation, falling investments, rising prices, family life breaking up and a Government beset by internal squabbles. — Reuters.

40 killed

About forty people have been killed by an earthquake in Almaraz province, South-east Peru, in the foothills of the Andes. Six villages were destroyed and roads blocked by landslides.

PERSONAL

Announcements, authenticated by the name and permanent address of the sender, may be placed in the following columns: Births, Marriages, Deaths, Engagements, and Miscellaneous. The charge is 25p per line for the first 10 lines, and 15p per line for each additional line. The minimum charge is 25p. The closing date for the day before insertion date. Box number charge 50p.

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Germans raise Russian spectre

From NORMAN CROSS

Bonn, October 17. The chairman of the German Social Union, Herr Strauss, today forecast a possible Soviet intervention in Germany's 1973 election campaign, not by military means but by propaganda and mediation.

Bonn's Ostpolitik, he was all set to lead the Federal Republic to a dead end. He said the treaties with Soviet Union and Poland would result in a cooler atmosphere than ever before between Bonn and Moscow.

In substance there was alternative to the policy on many which all parties here supported until 1969. The of international recognition of East Germany in the West. Bonn's policy was already shadowing such countries as Austria, Switzerland, and France.

Herr Strauss, who was speaking at a CDU conference in Munich at which the 25th anniversary of the war being celebrated, said the event of a CDU-CSU victory in 1973 the Ostpolitik the new Government would be prepared to see agreements unconditionally renouncing the use of a modus vivendi and the transfer of basic rights and duties.

In an attack on Herr Strauss he said the Chancellor promised more democracy in fact he had been intolerant than any of his predecessors. He had also promised that the work of his Government would be more transparent, yet more secret being practised than before.

The Chancellor abuses biggest political group in country — the election supporters of the Union — and called on the Union to help struggle to help demagogues and arguments cropping up that are fatal memories.

Again and again, he said, Chancellor emphasised democratic reliability, evidence of his own Hitler. How had he done this when he was under the "Red tyrant" the CSU, Herr Strauss was not prepared to support policy which created a division in the world that Germany no longer existed, but two German parts.

Those who called the application to the Ostpolitik campaign agitation were provided Russians with the right to intervene against disturbers of the peace.

Herr Strauss is evident in as much of a hurry. DCU to adopt a joint campaign, he said, is now that the two Union parties first work out a programme.

So far, Dr. Barzel, who elected chairman of the fortnight ago, is the only date in the field, but Strauss, through his own not put himself forward to ignore the call show country need him.

He said in a newspaper view this weekend: "I have the right to accuse dodging responsibility, circumstances, and demands, a politician ready to do the job people believe he can fully tackle." It would be surprising if he and his supporters now earnestly set creating the appropriate circumstances.

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HOME NEWS

Australia to reduce quota of British migrants by 30,000

By CHARLES STOKES

Australia, which has received more than 1.4 million migrants from Britain in the past 20 years, has decided to cut its migrant quota from this country by 30,000 for the coming 12 months.

The new Australian Minister for Immigration, Dr James Forbes, who is on a tour of Britain and several European countries, says the cut does not represent a change of Australian interest in British migration. "Britain is still by far the largest single source of Australia's migrants," he said.

Rush for 10 down houses

By our Correspondent

A large number of people applied for new houses as the council is selling on a £10 a week basis. The council is also giving out mortgages.

Houses were built for the council, but more than 100 are empty because not enough Londoners have moved. The council is selling 92 of the houses.

The council said: "There has been a tremendous rush. Virtually all the houses have been sold."

Reservations have to be made within 10 days and subject to the suitability of applicants for a mortgage. The council is expected to offer loans at 8 per cent with up to 40 years to repay.

The scheme would help people who cannot afford to buy. Many of the houses are bought by sitting tenants and would free the council's waiting list.

The council said: "The houses were built under agreement with the GLC. The council has approved the sale. More than 1,700 overspill homes in London are empty. Over 100 still homes in Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, have been built."

Pioneer special centres for persistent offenders

A PIONEER special care centre for offenders unsuitable to be sent to ordinary mental hospitals or prisons is likely to be set up in the Oxford area. It will study the problem of how to treat persistent offenders such as vagrants, alcoholics, and petty thieves. These often have a history of mental illness.

The policy committee of the Oxford Regional Hospital Board has accepted a recommendation for such a centre in three sections: One where it might be decided who needs treatment and what kind; a secure residential area for "long-term patients"; and a half-way house for those who might adjust to society.

"We have seized hold of a rather prickly nettle and shown the way ahead," the committee said at the weekend. A working party report has pointed out there are probably 100 people in the Oxford area needing to be kept in conditions of security for long periods, even though their offences might not be serious.

Ordinary mental hospitals and prisons have not been designed for it. On the other hand, said the working party: "It is acceptable that the nursing profession alone have the necessary training and discipline to approach the practical problems of preventing these individuals from disrupting society."

The working party was set up after the Recorder of Oxford, Mr Brian Gibbons, QC, had twice criticised the lack of facilities. "It is very disturbing," he said at the end of one trial, "that there is no means I can employ to keep this man safely in this area." He was unwilling to send him to prison.

The locked wards and high security mental hospitals where they might once have been confined have been abolished in the Oxford area in the past 10 years. But the report points out that under English law an accused or unsentenced man cannot be compelled to go into hospital even though he can be compelled to have a psychiatric examination.

Prison bonds linger on

MORE THAN 300,000 white collar workers are barred from many jobs because they cannot get a Fidelity Bond—a guarantee of honesty and integrity issued by an insurance company.

A report published yesterday says the problem requires urgent attention and suggests a special bond for the people affected, all ex-prisoners and other ex-offenders. Fidelity Bonds are issued either for single jobs or on a block basis covering all employees. In block bonding the company is unable to engage an ex-offender in any job.

The report—Fidelity

Bonds for ex-offenders—produced by the Apex Trust, an employment agency for ex-offenders, supported by the Home Office, points out that there is now a one-in-three chance of a man being found guilty of one of a standard list of offences.

The special bond would be valid for one specific post in one specific company. It should mean that the history of employment and convictions of the man would have to be known to both employing company and insurance company; and there would have to be a controlling agency, like the Apex Trust.

Mr Freddie Pentley, the trust's director, says: "The introduction of a special bond would be of considerable benefit to the ex-offender and to the employer who, without it, is forced to reject an otherwise suitable man."

"It is difficult, particularly at the present time, for any unemployed man to obtain a suitable post. The ex-offender accepts this as an additional penalty for offending—as a continuing part of his sentence."

Fidelity Bonds for ex-offenders, the Apex Trust, 2 Manchester Square, London, W1P 1PL.

An account of how detainees are handled

"Disorientation" techniques are being used to break down internees in Northern Ireland, according to allegations in the "Sunday Times."

The paper says a compound at the Palace Barracks, Holywood, outside Belfast, houses an interrogation centre set up by 3112, the section of Military Intelligence dealing with Ulster, and that top secret techniques of interrogation are being used.

It says it has statements by 11 men (all named) claiming that they had undergone "disorientation." The statements were smuggled out.

The report says all the men remained blindfolded in thick hoods for up to six days. Each was flown by helicopter to an unknown destination (it identifies this as Palace Barracks) for interrogation.

During this period they wore the hoods, went barefoot, were dressed in over-large boiler suits and spread-eagled against a sloping wall.

"The only sound that filled the room was a high-pitched throb, which the detainees usually liken to an air compressor," the report goes on. "The noise literally drove them out of their minds." At intervals, the men were taken out for interrogation, apparently by the

Special Branch of the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

The report—by the paper's Insight team and John Whale—also quotes the experience of Mr Tony Rosato, aged 24, a student at Queen's University, Belfast who spent 36 hours at the Palace Barracks before being released last week.

Mr Rosato said he was interrogated by three men—one, "the intellectual," a second, kind and smiling, a third who would be brutal. Mr Rosato is quoted as saying: "I have seen grown men crying and young fellows pleading to scrub the floors, clean out the toilets because of the pressures in the detention room. You plead for work to clean pebbles or wash windows covered in paint."

Mr Rosato's account also referred to a man with ulcers who had been hit in the stomach. "I thought back to when I went in," Mr Rosato said. "They ask if you have any ailments. I had asthma and I told them, and that became another subject for abuse. They took my inhaler off me. They bargained to give you a tablet."

Restrictions

The "Sunday Times" says Sir Edmund Compton's inquiry into the treatment of internees may not be able to investigate these allegations as its terms of reference restrict him to examining the treatment of internees before they were lodged in the place specified in the detention order.

Mr Faulkner last night declined to comment on the article. A spokesman said that because of an industrial dispute the newspaper had not arrived in Northern Ireland.

In London, Mr William Deedes, Conservative MP for Aldington, Kent, who led a recent delegation to inspect internees' conditions, said: "No such complaints or allegations were made to my hearing at the two places we visited. I can't speak for my colleagues, of course, but I'm sure any complaints would have been heard had there been any."

The two-party delegation visited internees at Crumlin Road prison and Longkesh camp last week.

Ruling against doctor whose job vanished

The decision of the North-east Metropolitan Hospital Board to terminate the £8,000 a year contract of Dr Russell Barton, for 10 years physician superintendent at Severalls Hospital Mental Hospital, Colchester, has been endorsed by Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary for the Social Services, after an inquiry.

Dr Barton, a pioneer of the "open doors" policy, was solely responsible for day-to-day administration at the hospital which has 1,500 beds.

But under the Ministry of Health's recently introduced "cogwheel" system, his job will vanish, decisions instead being

made at departmental level by committees of senior and junior staff. Dr Barton had appealed against the introduction of the cogwheel system at Severalls.

The board said at the weekend: "Dr Barton was offered an appointment as consultant psychiatrist at Severalls or elsewhere in the country without loss of salary. We have now received with regret his reply declining the offer."

Dr Barton had been on special leave for more than a year after his dispute with the authorities. He is now working at the Rochester Clinic in New York.

Vanguard modified

British European Airways are to carry out modifications to the rear pressure bulkhead of all their Vanguard airliners following the crash in Belgium a fortnight ago in which 63 people died. A statement at the weekend said the work was being done "in order to put the structural integrity of this region of the aircraft beyond question."

Last weekend the British Aircraft Corporation told Vanguard operators to check rear pressure bulkheads for corrosion, as evidence of corrosion in this area had been found on crashed planes.

Poly teachers' plea to MP over 'slur'

A 37,000-member teachers' union is to ask a Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Department of Education, Mr William van Straubenzee, to intervene in its dispute with the Royal Institute of British Architects.

The dispute developed earlier this month over the way the institute published a report warning four polytechnics and an art college to raise their standards of their architecture courses or close them down.

The executive of the union, the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions, decided

at a weekend meeting in London to ask the RIBA to meet its representatives, and to try to get "appropriate questions" raised in the Commons. It also unanimously endorsed an earlier union statement which condemned publication of the report as "an unwarranted slur on the professional abilities and qualifications of staff. ATTI members in the five listed schools."

Last August the RIBA named the schools as the polytechnics of Liverpool, Plymouth, Huddersfield, and North-east London, and the Cheltenham College of Art and Design.

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PICCADILLY

PACKETS CARRY A GOVERNMENT HEALTH WARNING

WHEN ART COLLEGES were reorganised as a result of the Coldstream Report many practising artists and designers became involved in them for the first time.

As a direct result of their participation art colleges in this country were transformed. Quite apart from British art colleges becoming far and away the best in the world they became what they had never been before, here or anywhere else, an intrinsic and very important part of the cultural situation. Over the past two or three years colleges have begun to establish their individual identity, to be recognised for particular excellences and to evolve their own ethos.

Through their involvement with the Summerson Council artists and designers have had a hand in art education in this country and have felt an involvement in it.

Why is it that so many are now disillusioned?

I believe that it is a direct result of the forced amalgamation (against the advice of Coldstream and Summerson) of art colleges into polytechnics, a straitjacket into which the Department of Education and Science wishes to force all art education in this country.

I would not myself argue that the polytechnics are totally irrelevant to the educational needs of the country: I would concede that it may be a good idea to have some and that they should have departments of art. But it is quite another matter to believe that all art colleges should become part of polytechnics.

My experience of polytechnics here and of State universities in the US (which they rather resemble) is that the education of the artist and designer is not best conducted in such institutions. They are too big, too static, too institutional, too degree-orientated and too stupid to do the natural habitat of practising artists and designers or those that want to be artists and designers.

For the sake of their bread and butter many designers and artists will have to tolerate the polytechnics but it would be idle to suppose that the excitement that has enlivened art colleges of which Patrick Heron writes, is likely to continue within them.

Yours faithfully,

Hubert Dalwood.
223a Randolph Avenue,
London W9.

Murder of the art schools

Yesterday, 21 of the 24 on the National Council for Diplomas in Art and Design resigned following Patrick Heron's article in Tuesday's Arts Guardian on art school-polytechnic mergers. Here, artists and educationists react to Mr Heron's polemic.

I FULLY AGREE with Patrick Heron's attack on the merger between art schools and polytechnics. Creativity in education has always been a disturbing, unpredictable problem — because it will not fit neatly into the established, accepted educational system.

However, design education is quite another matter, and Heron has made assertions which are quite inaccurate and misleading. To compare the Bauhaus with Leeds is farcical — the director of the Bauhaus, Gropius, was an architect, and it was his aim to link art, design, and technology. Indeed Gropius was highly critical of staff and students in the existing academies of fine art: "Had these drones been given a proper technical training they could have become useful members of society."

Patrick Heron appears quite indifferent to the problem that annually faces thousands of art and design graduates: namely how do I find an outlet for my talent and training in an inhospitable society? This is the true dilemma, and nowhere in his article does he suggest what the aims of art and design education should be. I would argue that it is essential that we train talented, articulate, enthusiastic teachers of art and design. The environmental problems that exist today are quite enormous, and radical changes in attitudes and behaviour will only occur when we have a visually enlightened, responsive society. When this happens, there might be a greater need for artists and designers.

Or, as my mother might say — "Technology, shmekology, polytechnics, polymekmics: who cares as long as the boy makes a living?" — Yours faithfully,

Myer Lacombe,
Head of Design School,
Duncan of Jordanstone College of
Art, Dundee.

MANY PEOPLE like myself, will warmly congratulate Patrick Heron upon his strong and factual article. We have waited for a long time for an authoritative pen to voice the overwhelming opinion of artists and teachers who condemn the amalgamation or takeover of the art schools by polytechnics or technical institutes.

Mr Heron is absolutely right in stating that such an arrangement immediately takes away the right of autonomy. The main argument put forward by the Department of Education and Science is that art students require workshops, photographic equipment etc., and that there is in polytechnics and technical institutes basic equipment that could be shared between technical and art students, thereby saving considerable sums of money in providing equipment.

This seems at first sight to be reasonable; but the department fails to understand that technical students' and art students' aims and requirements are quite different. Art students wish to use equipment for concentrated periods of time, and for different purposes. The nature of their work would

not readily conform to exercises or to fixed timetables. For example, Harry Thubron who was referred to in Mr Heron's article, took over the workshops of a technical boys' school for a summer vacation course. Through his encouragement of freedom of thought and action, plus his great enthusiasm, excellent work was produced, but obviously not fitted for any trade requirements.

P. F. Millard.

Crabbrook, Kent.

AT LAST, somebody has put in print what art students and teachers have been feeling for the past two years. I was, until July of this year, a student in the graphic design school of one of our newly designated polytechnics, where, during the past three years, the frustration and anger over polytechnisation has been played out with dreadful results for the faculty of art and design. The faculty has become a pawn in the hands of a bureaucratic machine which has not only destroyed the original autonomy but fragmented the relationship between the schools in that faculty.

It is possible that the damage already caused in Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol and elsewhere cannot be repaired. It is equally possible that the loss of the services of visiting lecturers (who in most cases are practising artists and designers), whose services, we as students, found to be invaluable and often far more valid; will have caused a drastic lowering of course standards (intentional?) — Yours etc.

Christopher D. Thorpe.

Salford 6.

A DISTURBING POINT made by Patrick Heron in his article about the takeover of the art schools by giant polytechnics is the threat of reduction from the staff of the practising artists employed as part-time teachers.

When the new art schools were created a great deal of their success was due to the more extensive use of practising artists as part-time teachers, a policy which obviously makes sense.

If, as Mr Heron suggests, the art schools are now in danger of losing these professional artists, painters, sculptors and designers, the students will lose the benefits of their practical experience and a very sad step back will be made in art education. — Yours truly,

William Scott.

London SW10.

review

RECORDS

Edward Greenfield

Wagner

FEW OPERAS CRY out for stereo recording so strongly as Wagner's Die Meistersinger, yet curiously enough it has till now resisted any of the big record companies' plans to provide the sumptuous account so obviously needed. Then earlier this year EMI set up sessions in Dresden with Herbert von Karajan conducting. So eager were the performers that the whole opera was recorded in little over half the time scheduled.

Their exhilaration comes over on the finished records (HMV SLS 597, five discs), which provide a marvellous illusion of spontaneity while achieving feats of precision beyond what you expect in the opera house — the Dresden State Opera Chorus and Orchestra outstandingly fine. Karajan himself demonstrates (as he did in his classic "Rosenkavalier" set) that slow tempi can go with passion and a sense of momentum, and with one exception the cast of solo singers is everything one could hope for.

That exception, I am afraid, is serious. It is ironic, when plans for recording "Meistersinger" have generally foundered over casting the rôle of Hans Sachs, that EMI has failed to find an adequate answer. Theo Adam, in the opera house may sound powerful, but on record his voice is too poorly focused, too gritty of tone (wobbling if you want to put it unkindly) to give much pleasure, and in any case sounds out of character — not nearly powerful enough. Only once or twice can one imagine the vocal line of the singer, yet that quality is vividly apparent with all the other principals.

Helen Donath, for example, has never before on record given so captivating a performance as here in the rôle of Eva, the words always lit by an imaginative expression. The Walther of René Kollo may lack a little in charm, but it is wonderfully clean-toned and fresh, with a pianissimo entry on high A flat in the great quintet which I have never heard equalled. In the opera house his voice may be on the small side for the part, but what matters here is the result as heard through the loudspeakers — heroic by any standard. In contrast to the principal Master, Sachs, all the others in this performance have fine cutting edge in their voices — Geralt Evans as fine as I have ever heard him as Beckmesser, Karl Ridderbusch superb as Pogner, Zoltan Kelemen an excellent Kothner and so on. A charming portrait of David comes from Peter Schreier. The recording — made in a Dresden church — has been finely balanced, grand enough in scale but also intimate where necessary. In spite of the disappointment over the Sachs, I cannot imagine a better set for a long time to come.

Wagner's Parsifal has been lucky on record. Like the two previous versions (both conducted by Hans Knappertsbusch, one for Decca, one for Philips) the new version under the direction of Pierre Boulez was recorded live at Bayreuth (DGG 2720034, five discs). This time there are fewer distracting audience noises, and Boulez's interpretation is nothing less than electrifying. This is "Parsifal" presented in a way that should captivate even the Wagner sceptic. The devotional element may be less intense than usual, but Boulez makes it clearer than I have ever felt before that here is no slackening of Wagner's imaginative drive. The lines that by characteristically drawing the lines much more sharply than usual, the endless march rhythms in ostinato made urgent. One begins to feel that even Stravinsky was influenced — if unconsciously.

The Bayreuth cast is first-rate with James King a strong, forthright (if hardly innocent-sounding) Parsifal, Franz Crass a darkly intense Gurnemanz matched in total refinement by the Amfortas of Thomas Stewart, the Titmur of Karl Ridderbusch and the Klingsor of Donald McIntyre. Gwyneth Jones as Kundry has her squally moments, but she has really sung with such sensitivity on record.

I am afraid I misled readers over the price of the splendid new reissue of Strauss's "Der Rosenkavalier" in the Karajan/Schwarzkopf performance. It is cheaper than I thought — only £8.95 for four discs (HMV SLS 810).

TELEVISION

Peter Fiddick

Line-Up

I'M BEGINNING to think this whole debate about improving objectivity in the range of access to television is scripted by Pirandello, or Pinter, or some such of our modern specialists in contorted plays-within-plays, images-within-images, problems-with-problems. Or at the very least, Joe Heller, except that it mostly isn't as funny as "Catch-22".

The most apparent irony about the whole thing is the inability of television itself to deal with the discussion.

"Catch-22" to perfection, the only drawback being that one television programme alone has so far devoted three hours 25 minutes to the effort — getting virtually nowhere in about the time it takes to read Mr Heller's complex masterpiece.

The programme, of course, is "Late Night Line-Up", which on Friday was given over to the second of a series of out-of-town discussions on problems of television. The first, last month, was given two hours from Scotland on the performance of both BBC and ITV networks in serving the needs of the province. The second, last Friday night, brought us 85 minutes from Manchester, BBC industrial man Harold Webb in the chair, radical ex-television producer MP Philip White in the prosecutor's wig, on the distortions or otherwise of television's response to working-class life.

The aftermath of each programme signals the problems. After Scotland, ten participants wrote to the Guardian complaining they hadn't had fair treatment, constraining Rowan Ayres of

"Line-up" to reply that they had all been invited. This time, a daunt from Whitehead on the scene became a Sunday newspaper story if he hadn't been able to get all the recordings he had wanted to analyse. Meanwhile, the programme itself into the mire when some people complained they had been asked to discuss the whole question of working-class attitudes and not just news-reports of strikes which was the main preoccupation of the leaders of the debate.

The outcome was a programme that gave an indication of the strength of the radicals' case and less of the possible responses to it. And there never a chance of any better outcome. Think how little usually comes out of one 50-minute documentary — and from one man's viewpoint as editor. To bring upwards of 40 people into discussion on one small point will just yield results in 85 minutes if it don't all want to talk, or if they looking for a meeting point.

Philip Whitehead certainly mustn't he could gain nothing from a discussion on the side and woe to him if TV's controllers are so interested in this subject, they mustn't let their teeth and allow it to formally presented, not swamped in the chaos of the village meeting. An there must be opposition, have I forgotten how successful the Rose mock-trial was?

But is the TV establishment serious interested? Two late nights on BBC Silence from ITV. Of course, you But then ITV cannot spare time serious discussions of subjects like fourth TV channel until they have fourth TV channel. It's "Catch 22".

FESTIVAL HALL

Edward Greenfield

Schwarzkopf

ELISABETH SCHWARZKOPF returned to the Royal Festival Hall Saturday for one of those evening Lieder which are destined to be legendary. The audience at a picked up the message the moment Schwarzkopf stepped imperially on the stage. Nor is it a matter of taste, and this was an audience younger than is usual for concerts, music-scarred veterans' rub shoulders alongside hundreds could hardly have been in their when Schwarzkopf's great Lieder began.

Was it for them, I wondered, added to her programme two evening Strauss encores both on the side of mother and child. But no, Schwarzkopf sings a cradle song, all of us who are involved. Paradoxically the audience response was more intense, when the start of concert brought singing of not characteristic tone quality. I Schubert group (his three songs from the third stanza about cave dragons drew menacing tone up top note as firm as a rock.

Then in the second half after singing Mahler and Loewe songs, we to more Wolf, half a dozen tiny from the Italian Songbook starting "Was soll der Zorn", which he it was seemed to focus the vocal. The others in the group those we normally have from Schwarzkopf for encores, the more delicate here when we had the words!

COVENT GARDEN

Philip Hope-Wallace

Fidelio

WITH DVORAKOVA in the nam and Mr Davis conducting it is promising. Better luck next Optimists at least we must all the presence of Beethoven's opera, unique in the sense that it is a call to the tonic after the elevation of the spirit. "Fidelio" ought not to plod, or, whipped up tardily, to sound in of going off the rails. The first is a subjective criticism of the sort. Perhaps some people did not find it as good as the first half. But the insecure ensemble in some of the crucial sages in the second (dungeon) act were all too obvious.

True, this opera which is a spiel with spoken scenes, sudden to snarl on mighty plonings of m inspiration, is difficult bird especially perhaps in a house as Covent Garden, where neither audience nor any of the cast, with the language, are German. Before but had chosen this as his assignment the rôle of Musical tor: not a happy choice, though were sound intentions and promise.

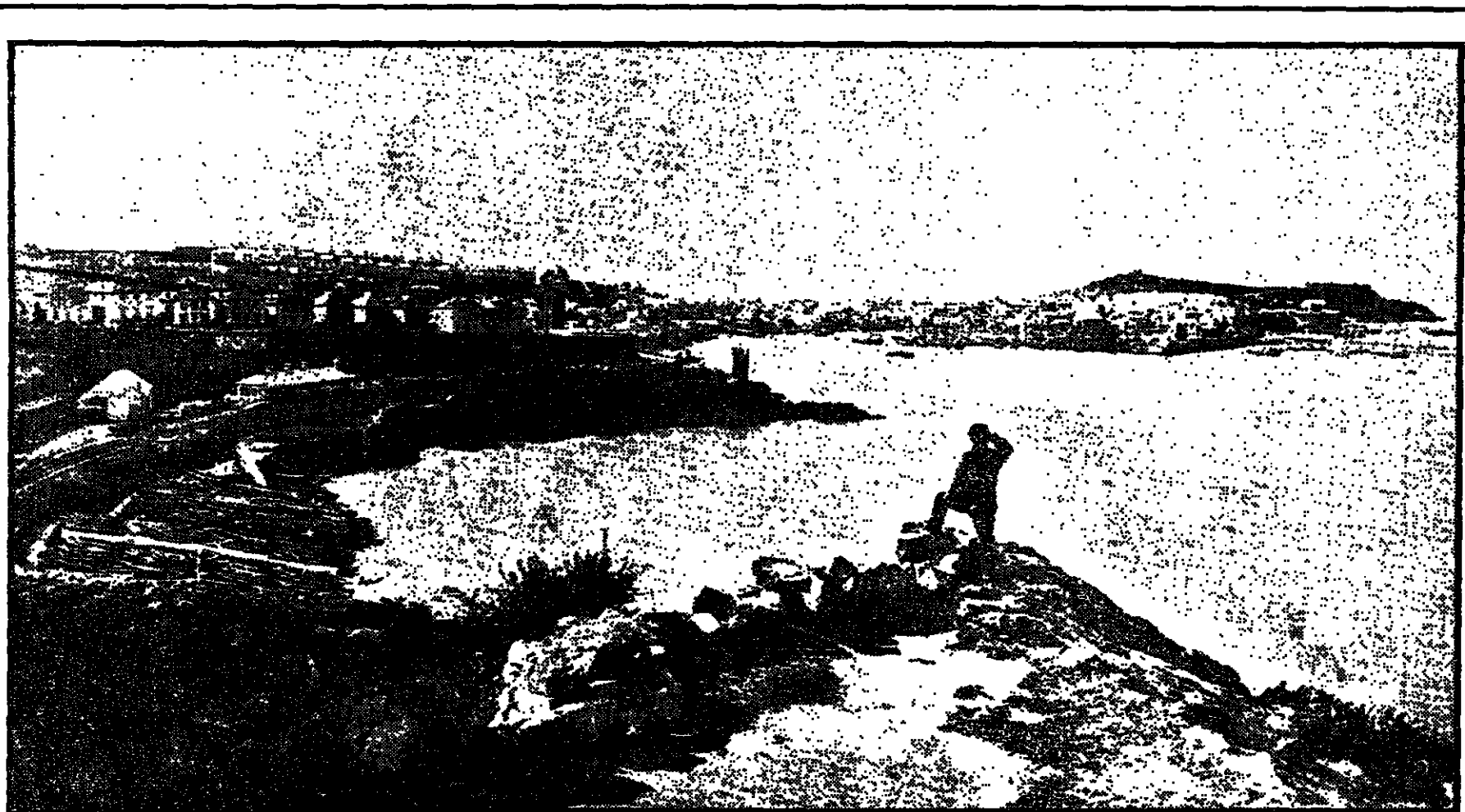
But quite simple passages which he made to tingle, to send the into the month, went at best re ably and well balanced.

The production is handsome and without follies, but the house excellent artists also — and I all at home Mr McIntyre's men aria in the first act was highly u fortable in matters of vocalisation Harwood piped along steadily and Dobson puff feeling into Jay thankless tasks.

Some of these reviews appeared in editions on Saturday.

ECONOMISTS' BOOKSHOP

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Class Market, Portland Street,
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St Ives, Cornwall

EVEN A CURSORY examination of the history of photography reveals that the best photographers of the past, in terms of both quantity and quality, were non-photographers: men who were not primarily concerned with creating aesthetic images, but used the new medium as a recording tool; the camera as a channel through which they, could communicate their discoveries and involvements to a wider audience.

The best photographers were sociologists, anthropologists, archaeologists, travellers and explorers. Nothing that I see in the field of art photography convinces me that matters are very different today. True, the names of "art" photographers spring more readily to mind, but only because they were more concerned with establishing a reputation among fellow photographers — and were more anxious to plug into the normal outlets for critical success, such as exhibitions, specialised journals and permanent collections: a fact which is also relevant to contemporary photography.

Photography never betrieded art; at best they are sparring partners. In order to establish an art reputation in the nineteenth century the photographer was forced to throw out the intrinsic characteristics that made his medium unique. Oily daubs, scratched plates, soft focus, units and toners were all used with gay abandon — and the closer the result resembled a (bad) Salon painting, the better.

The documentary photographers of the period tended to work in comparative aesthetic obscurity. Men like Francis Frith, who has left us one of the biggest and best records of rural and urban life in nineteenth-century England. His carefully indexed archives have recently come to light in a rambling old mansion in Reigate, Surrey. His photographs are a direct confrontation with reality, shorn of gimmickry and sentimentality. They are unpretentious and all the more powerful for that.

Although a complete inventory has not been made, I would estimate that the Frith collection comprises at least 60,000 original glass plates and 250,000 original albumen prints, the vast majority in excellent condition.

Born in 1822, Francis Frith began his photography by driving his horse and trap around country estates and recording the homes, castles and mansions of his rich clients. In 1850 he registered his own company, which was in operation, under successive owners, until this year, F. Frith and Co. Ltd. is now in liquidation.

UNSENTIMENTAL JOURNEY

Bill Jay reports the discovery in rotting tin boxes in an old house of an astonishing collection of photographs by Francis Frith, the Victorian who set himself the heroic task of photographing every city, town, and village in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland



Luxury Hotel, Snaresell, Isle of Man



Esplanade Hotel, Paignton

The object of Frith's business was to make documents of every city, town and village in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, including famous beauty spots, beach scenes, churches and historic monuments, parks and palaces, trades and tradesmen, rivers, waterfalls, triumphs of industrialisation, and festivals, ceremonies and pageants.

Francis Frith and his assistants travelled by train to the closest possible point to their chosen location, then hired a horse and trap to cover "systematically" the assigned shooting area. The sheer physical effort involved must be admired.

The negative size was at least 8 x 10 inches. Enough thick glass plates in this size for a prolonged shooting trip must have weighed a considerable amount. Also, the mahogany camera capable of exposing these large plates, with a wooden tripod and all the other necessary photographic paraphernalia would have been bulky in the extreme.

It is important to understand that the object of this documentation was not the sale of photographic prints. The original prints were used as "masters" from which postcards were printed and sold in their thousands to newsgents, tobacconists and stationers

by a team of representatives. This fact is important because it explains why so few original Frith prints have ever appeared on the market. All the "master" prints were carefully indexed and filed in Frith's headquarters. There they have remained on fifth-covered shelves, until a few months ago when the firm was going into liquidation and the prints were found in rotting tin boxes.

Francis Frith's company was not only the first photographic postcard firm in Britain, it rapidly became the largest photographic publisher in the world. It is amazing that such a unique collection could have remained undiscovered for so long.

Frith's company must bear a large share of the blame for this lack of recognition. A few years ago, its employees smashed with hammers thousands of the earliest and now extremely valuable, glass plates and mixed the pieces with concrete to make the floor of an out-house.

Our museums have been equally reluctant to preserve these records of the previous century. The Frith company offered the earliest plates and prints on a free-loan basis to the Victoria and Albert Museum. The museum eventually took away van loads of pictures estimated at several tons of plates and prints. It then mislaid the lot: at least no one at the Museum seems to know where they were hidden, and they are certainly inaccessible to the public.

But the fact remains that the Francis Frith original prints and glass plates form the most extensive important and well-preserved collection of early British documentary photography to have survived intact. It is a unique and priceless record of English life in the last century. It is sad and disturbing that not one of our museums or galleries cared enough for this heritage to take the Frith collection of the liquidator's bonfire. It was a commercial company (which at present prefers to remain anonymous) that, at the eleventh hour, saved this important collection from fragmentation and destruction. After editing and indexing, the company intends to open the Francis Frith collection of Victorian Photography to the public.

On Wednesday, Michael McVey reports on the work of Euan Duff, a photographer who is creating a new visual language.

هكذا من النجمل



The blue belles of Brighton



JILL TWEEDIE



nearly one million people unemployed there seem to be very few indeed who are able to look beyond the simple method of getting a job? There are massive opportunities for people who will stand up and get on with providing some income and some employment for themselves in terms of being self-employed.

So there we have it. Not only are the unemployed responsible for the straits they find themselves in (the Right Hon. Anthony Barber himself says "the simple fact is that workers have priced themselves and their fellows out of a job"), but they are also quite capable of finding employment if they were not the work-shy shirkers we all know they are. The Good Life, Tory-style, is just round every Sunderland street corner. Every man his own entrepreneur.

Down in the bar the bonhomie is louder and lashed with whisky. Jim Prior is there, Minister for Agriculture, his ruddy face a cartoon of a cartoon of his Leader. Young clean-cut Tory men flirt heavily with older Tory dames—aware, it seems, of the well-shaped sides whereon their bread is buttered. Snatches of conversation cut through the amplified voices of the speakers in the hall:

"We've only got two buses now, to our village, but we don't want more. They'd only bring Americans and the wrong sort of people."

Very stimulating debate, I thought. I think it will teach us all a lot about, well, politics.

"At the last Board meeting I tried to interest them in some of those changes but they're so conservative, really."

"I've no objection to these students' unions giving a few quid to Bangla Desh but they're not supposed to, you know, it's against the rules. As for giving to Black Power, well..."

"We ought to put up a banner 'Has Macleod been forgotten?' When can you mention it, under the Irish problem?"

"Oh yes, she's very powerful. Well, she's really a man, anyway."

"I'm all for less taxation myself. I've got a divorce coming up."

The voice of the speaker is piped even unto the ladies' lavatory. Women comb their hair and apply lipstick in rapid silence, afraid to miss a word of their Chancellor's views on tax restructuring. If these ladies burned their bras, the party would collapse. One wears a badge on her uplift: "I've made up my mind, don't confuse me with facts." Another bears an "I trust Ted" under her chin. Outside, in the bright sea glare, a crowd of old age pensioners stand and stare, expressionless. "Ted" say their placards, "our shopping basket is getting lighter. Pensioners want £8 now." The Old Pump House does a fine lunch, I hear.

In the afternoon, fed and well watered, the heat in the hall rises. Truncated little faces dot the front tier of the platform like heads in the Sooty Show. There's lovely Madame Thatcher and—oh—Ted himself, glowing with health, grey hair perfectly groomed (you can do such wonderful things with Steel). There's John Davis—face like shrunken chummy and Robert Carr, skin papery as a Chinese Mandarin. Here comes Maudling, lumbering like a bear and Julian Amery with hooded eyes and Lord Home, a magpie as dry bones. Seated, they stare across our heads with expressions of the deepest concern, strained (perhaps) with the awful effort to stay awake. Two ladies behind me nod off, and wake again, chins spiked by marquisette brooches. Two people sleep poker-straight upon the platform.

The debate on Northern Ireland limps by, distinguished only by the dearth of speakers with anything but Home County accents. A suggestion that the Southern Irish be given passports and treated like any other aliens brings the audience momentarily to clapping life. A lady assures us that she is proud to be a Ulsterwoman, in purest Knightsbridge. The spark set alight this morning by taxation has faded and cannot, it seems, be rekindled by faraway places or even by education, the next debate. One man arouses everyone with jokes and becomes, immediately, the favourite son. He dismisses the school milk question with a merry quip: "Last week, in this hall, we heard about the return of rickets to our children. This lunchtime, a Brighton shopkeeper bemoaned to me that the Socialists were spending a great deal more money last week on all manner of goods than the Tories are this week—and you can make what you like of that."

And he ends by confirming his burning ambition: to kiss Mrs Thatcher. Another speaker backs him up: "My experience is that many of the children did not want that milk in the first place. I also deplore the recent Milk Marketing Board advertisement which seemed to imply that some crime had been committed."

At last the day is over, once again the bars fill and the faithful file out for an evening of business and pleasure. Photographers, doubled up most of the day in front of the rostrum, straighten out with glassy groans. Outside, in the first faint dark, the pensioners still stand, quiet as cattle at sunset.

spring suddenly to life again. Good heavens, so it's true after all? It wasn't just my obsessive imagination? They really do believe in Capitalism, they really do worship the Golden Calf? You'd never know, would you, seeing the Heathcotes, on television, in print, in person? The leaders give quite a convincing impression of being much of a muchness with Labour, really. A touch of liberalism here, a soupçon of heart there, humane as the next man. But here, down here in the sturdy grassroots, things are altogether tougher. Here we see what the blue rosette really means to its aficionados: a deep and touching concern for Number One.

Speaker after speaker feed the faithful with the phrases they love to hear: "Those much-maligned men, our friends the speculators" (clap, clap); "as if employer is somebody who is a profiteer and has something to be ashamed of" (cheer, cheer). There are indignant attacks on the capital gains tax, on estate duty, on the sufferings of men who, after toiling all their lives, are faced with having to pay £12½ millions in death duties and are therefore forced, much against their patriotic souls, to live in barbarous Switzerland. Verily, verily I say unto you, the heart bleeds for such expatriates.

The ladies, a majority at the conference, are visibly moved by these inequities. Everywhere throughout the hall their immaculately coiffed heads are agitated under the famous Tory turbans. Ample bosoms (gleam with sequins or modestly moulded in tweed) heave with wifely outrage at the deprivations of their menfolk, menfolk willing to lay down their lives amassing

wealth for their country and their Queen. They are, on the whole, a handsome lot, well-boned in face and corset. Mrs Unity Lister, chairwoman of today's proceedings, is handsome too, presiding over her quondam like a grande dame of the theatre or "Vogue's" Mrs Exeter at her gracious best. Shiny white hair lifts softly off noble brow, a royal smile permanently lifts the corners of the coral mouth, she is Harrods personified and deeply admired by all the other ladies.

It is not hard to see that such women, regarding their comely features each day in the gilt mirrors of the stockbroker belt, keeping their regular hair-dressing appointments, enduring their regular facials, have a vested interest in money, in conservation, in preservation, in the status quo. Change of any kind can do those English Rose complexions no good at all.

And these ladies represent, in their living breathing selves, all that the Conservatives stand for. They do not need help because everything in their garden is already lovely. They ask

quite simply for non-interference; they want no rocking of their neatly-painted boats. One speaker, talking of small businessmen, sums up their ethos nicely: "These small enterprises do not look to the Government for active help, but they ask not to be hindered." Labour asks Labour leaders for change, for a better life. Toryism asks Tory leaders merely to make sure the good life goes on.

The unemployed are spectres at this feast, uninvited guests, unasked intruders. Not once is there any applause for statutory expressions of concern, not one expression of concern remains unqualified. "Of course," goes the refrain, "we must concern ourselves with the problem" and, quick as a flash, come the ifs and the buts.

"Had you realised that out of every 100 people in the country who are anxious, able and willing to be employed and desirous of being employed... no fewer than 96 people find that they are able to do this without any difficulty whatsoever?"

"Is it not depressing that out of

THEY ARE always telling us, Conservative conference delegates and other private entrepreneurs, that free competition is the best kind of consumer protection—a paradox of almost metaphysical proportions. But they don't tell us why. Why, for instance, in this free consumer society, house insurance is such a tricky business. If you buy a house through a building society, the society insists on fixing the building cover through a company of its own choosing—often because they have a link up with the insurance company which precludes the payment of commission. The building societies say it's because if it were left to the house owner, he might not take out insurance at all, or he might not take out enough. There's then arises the kind of situation which was brought to Checkout's attention last week. A house-owner, his mortgage paid off, set about getting quotations for premiums from a number of leading insurance companies and brokers. He discovered that while he had been paying around £2 a year on the terms arranged by his building society, he need have paid only £9 for exactly the same cover. There seems to be no real need for the building societies to take such a paternalistic view of the matter; if the insurance arrangements were left to the purchaser—who, after all, has to write the cheques—and then submitted to the building society for its approval it would allow the society's anxieties about its investment and give the owner a chance to take advantage of our marvellous competitive insurance market.

House owners who no longer have to rely on their building societies may like to know that the Norman Fitzell Group, a member of the Lloyd's syndicate, offers building cover at 7½p in the pound as opposed to 12½p quoted by some of the package-deal companies.

IT'S NICE to know that there are consumers around who are prepared to take unilateral action against the misleading and the confusing. It's also nice to know that there are companies which can back down gracefully. Take, for instance, this week's tale of David and Goliath. A lady in Sevenoaks took exception to Colston's advertisement for dishwashers which held that women spent 21 hours a week slaving over the kitchen sink. She calculated that this would mean three major meals every day each with enough washing up to last an hour. She wrote to Colston wondering "whether a complaint under the Trades Descriptions Act would be in order."

Colston's sales manager wrote back virtually by return of post: "May we take this opportunity of thanking you for taking the trouble to write and point out to us something which was an obvious misprint. We are taking immediate steps to have the 21 hours referred to deleted from future advertisements."

A CERTAIN tetchiness has broken out in the world of fizzy-drink advertising. Cantrell and Cochrane has recently produced a television commercial for its Club brand of tonic water, ginger ale etc. etc., the slogan being "the one they're trying to shsssh up." Which may or may not be taken to be an upstaging manoeuvre on Schhh... you know who.

Was this, Checkout asked C and C's advertising agency, a deliberate reference to Schweppes? "Everything one



CHECKOUT

edited by Elisabeth Dunn

does," said the account director, "is deliberate." He went on to explain that of course it was not deliberate as far as Schweppes was concerned. Cantrell and Cochrane was merely trying to evoke the noise of fizzy drinks (sorry, mixers) and at the same time establish the hitherto unfamiliar Club brand name.

Schweppes' man gave a hollow laugh and said he hadn't seen the commercial. "I really don't think I'd better comment. You can speculate, perhaps, but you know how these things can be."

Environmental footnote: The Club commercial shows a couple of ham hooligans carrying an unidentifiable object through dark cobbled streets to the river. They drop the bundle into the water and up float many bottles (non-returnable?) of Club. So much for saving our waterways.

WHAT DO directors do with their wives when they go tripping off on high-powered conferences? Well, presumably they take them with them because this year, girls, there's a conference especially for you. While husbands are off at the Institute of Directors' annual jamboree, that lovely Michael Aspel from the Miss World Show will be at the Sonesta Tower Hotel (at the invitation of Brooke Bond Oxo and the Good Housekeeping Institute.) There he'll chair a panel of speakers who can answer all your questions—everything about your rôle in 1973 from beauty to cookery. This, you understand, is an unprecedented opportunity to liberate yourselves. (Anyway, with such a carrot, it's tough luck on any director who fancied taking his secretary instead.)

Please support our campaign
to help desperate parents.
For their children's sake.

Last year 13,000 desperate parents came to the NSPCC for help. We wish more had. For their sake, and for their children's sake, carry on. But help costs money, and last year the NSPCC was short of about £100,000. We are not State-aided, and we urgently need money to carry on. A donation from you, however small, would help us a lot.

To: NSPCC Room 6 18/10, 1 Riding House Street, London W1P 8AA.

I enclose ☐ Tick if receipt required ☐

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NSPCC
National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children



The confidence factor

Trust your Government, show more self-confidence, and together we shall overcome Britain's difficulties. That, in short, is Mr Heath's message to the Conservatives and the country. As before, he deplores the lack of courage among his supporters and in the country at large. All the talk of economic stagnation, promises not fulfilled, and uncertainty over Europe is anathema to him. That the word "stamina" occurs twice in his peroration is not chance. The quality is one he admires and wants to see in others. What if things have not gone too well in the past 12 months? Growth is just around the corner, and with it the historic achievement of entering Europe. "We stand now on the threshold of a period of growth and prosperity unparalleled since the war," he states. Only if the leaders of industry and the leaders of the nation lack confidence in themselves will Britain be dragged down.

We shall see. Mr Heath's Government, like any other, will be judged by results. It is just because the results so far have been disappointing that confidence is absent. Even setting aside the "at a stroke" promise, the plain expectation held out by the Conservatives at the 1970 election was of a quick improvement in economic prospects. That, above all, is why they were elected. Even now the Prime Minister makes claims and offers promises more extensive and more buoyant than his chastened colleagues dare put forward. "This Government has already done more than any before to get the economy moving again and to reduce unemployment." And "this Government is committed completely and absolutely to expanding the economy and to bringing unemployment down." These are unqualified commitments. To allow Mr Heath's Government more time is proper. Many people, remembering the disparity between Labour's promise and performance, may be ready to suspend judgment on the Conservatives for some months yet. But what if, by next autumn, we still have a stagnant economy, rising prices, and intolerable unemployment? Mr Heath cannot then come back a third time and say that

better days are just ahead. Nobody will then believe him. He will have destroyed his own reputation.

Confidence would come more readily if the Prime Minister were not still so dogmatic. You do not solve industrial problems, he says, by taking the easy way of subsidy and government intervention. No, not necessarily; it is true that Labour looked too readily to these. But sometimes the cost of withholding subsidies or refraining from intervention can be far higher. Then there is the tax system. It is all very well to say that the Conservatives are reforming it—for some of the coming changes are sensible—but by far the biggest change is that the wealthy and the middle classes will be better off. Then, too, there is Mr Heath's bland comment that it only needs "moderation and responsibility" on the part of trade unions to "complete" a victory over inflation. Coming from an arch apostle of self-support, under whom Conservative philosophy has moved further towards "grab what you can for yourself," this rings false. If the Prime Minister were to admit that in the past he had mistakenly opposed interventionism over incomes it would ring truer.

Mr Heath has modified parts of his approach in the past year, but his Government still stands for a tough, competitive, look-after-yourself approach. No amount of tinkering with pensions or talking of compassion will alter the hardness of its face. It will be judged, first and foremost, by its performance on jobs, prices, and prosperity. It will be judged also by whether it succeeds in taking Britain into Europe and by the kind of greater Europe that seems likely to be built. The Prime Minister rightly sought on Saturday to set the European decision in its wider context—in a world where rough winds are blowing and where events will not be governed by secondary nation states. But it is, in the end, Britain's own inner stability and prosperity by which people judge; and on these the Government has another 12 months at most in which to prove itself.

Is there torture in Belfast?

The "Sunday Times" has taken statements from 11 men who say that while they were interned in Northern Ireland they were interrogated in circumstances which amount to torture. There are some inconsistencies in the statements. But taken together they comprise a serious allegation. The men say, variously, that they were blindfolded for up to six days, that they were made to stand for hours on end leaning forward with their fingertips against a wall, and that they were subjected to long periods of high-frequency sound. These allegations are too serious to be left uninvestigated. And the investigation ought to begin at once. The sooner it begins the fewer are the difficulties. What is more, when an allegation is left on the table for too long people tend to accept it as if it were the whole truth.

The Northern Ireland Government need not lose time. Sir Edmund Compton and two colleagues were appointed on August 31 to inquire into allegations that internees had been brutally treated as they were taken into custody. Strictly speaking Sir Edmund's terms of reference do not allow him to investigate allegations of brutal treatment after internees have been "lodged in a place specified in a detention order." The "Sunday Times" offers some evidence to suggest that

the security forces in Northern Ireland may be relying on this clause in the terms of reference—they would argue that Sir Edmund has no right to inquire into their methods of interrogation because it had taken place after the men had been "lodged." To argue thus would be to quibble, and to quibble about an allegation which no British soldier or politician could take lightly.

Whenever people are interned without trial, and in circumstances not covered by the ordinary laws, there will be complaints of torture or other inhuman treatment. This is an almost inevitable consequence of what amounts to a state of war between communities. The internees and their guards regard each other as enemies with whom they are at war. Every war produces its atrocity stories, many of which are unfounded or exaggerated. Ireland has already produced its quota, and this may be another of them. But it is not enough simply to say so or to promise an investigation later. The men who made the allegations have been named. The place in which the alleged torture took place has been identified. The alleged torturers have been described as police officers with Northern Irish accents. The allegation is that the security forces, which are commanded by a British general, did things to prisoners which ought never to be done. The Northern Ireland Government should establish the inquiry now.

Big Brothers in Turkey

The Queen, who begins a state visit to Turkey today, is lucky to find the Prime Minister, Dr Nihat Erim, among her hosts. In recent weeks it has been a close thing whether he could survive in his delicate position. Turkey has 11 of its most important provinces under martial law. The politicians who have been undertaking reforms, particularly to stiffen the Constitution, are more conscious than ever that their actions are under close supervision of the generals.

The commanders of the Turkish armed forces intervened on March 12. They ousted the Justice Party Prime Minister, Süleyman Demirel, and issued a memorandum which has hung over all government since. In it, they considered essential "the formation, within the context of democratic principles, of a strong and credible Government, which will neutralise the current anarchical situation and which, inspired by Atatürk's views, will implement the reformist laws envisaged by the Constitution." If not, "the Turkish armed forces are determined to take over the administration of the State." This threat has been raised again recently.

To be fair, the Turkish Army has a better record than most on the question of interference in and subsequent withdrawal from politics. But as Atatürk's heirs, the armed forces believe in having a continuous rôle behind the political scenes. The politicians had certainly performed without distinction before March. Economic and

political order was breaking down while Parliament pondered slowly on trivialities. But inevitably the post-memorandum period has also made the politicians' job difficult. Dr Erim resigned from his party to head a coalition government, but has been unable to fight free of the accusation of being the generals' man. The urban guerrillas have been beaten and civil security restored. In the process left-wingers have been needlessly arrested (and some released) in operations sadly reminiscent of Turkey's NATO neighbour, Greece. It would help Dr Erim's civilian status if martial law could be lifted.

Parliament has been goaded into action and has passed the bill for constitutional amendments. As a result control is now stricter over the universities, associations, unions, and press and radio. The Constitution now suits those who felt the 1961 edition was too liberal. In particular it gives the Government some rights to govern by decree. Dr Erim's recent crisis came partly from trying to use these to pass important land reform measures. It came also from appearing to side too closely with a reminder by the army commander of the March memorandum. The Justice Party felt victimised, and that Dr Erim's non-party status had been impaired. Its five Ministers were withdrawn.

Dr Erim has little room in which to manoeuvre. Parliament would prefer reforms to proceed in a different style and at a slower pace. The armed forces would not. But the longer they are involved so closely, the more these reforms smack of government by imposition. The politicians should have learned their lesson. In any case they are not likely to perform well while on probation. When the security problems of looking after the Queen are over, the civilian problems should be handed over to the civilians.

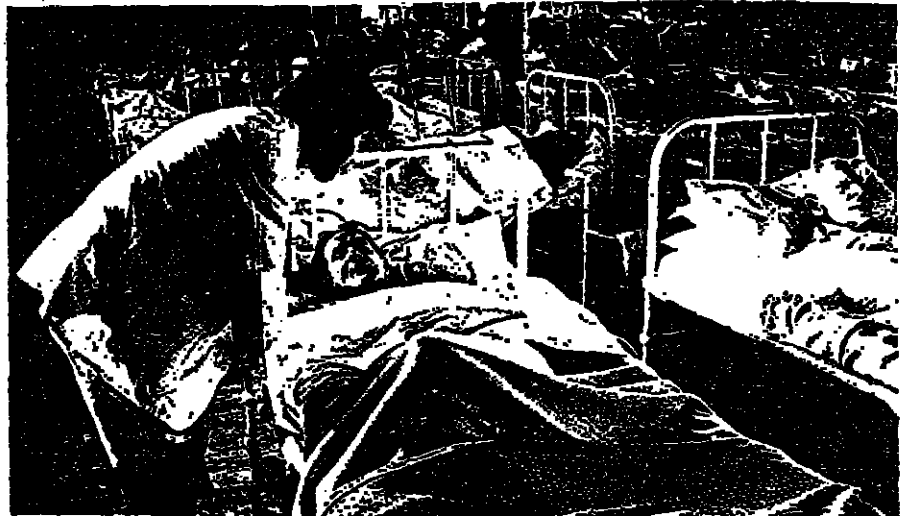
A COUNTRY DIARY

KENDAL: From the summit cairn on Scafell one recent October day, only the topmost rocks of Scafell Pinnacle and the dome of Scafell Pike, a mile away, peeped above a sea of white cloud that stretched, level and unbroken in all directions, to the horizon. I could see people, like matchsticks, on top of the Pike, but everything else lay unseen beneath the miles of cottonwool. The transformation, after an hour's uphill trudge through warm, clammy mists, had been magical. Within a few yards I stepped out of an oppressive autumn, steaming and shadowy, into an alpine spring, cool and crisp with sparkling blue skies, and the sunlight spilling across the sea of cloud so that in places it glowed like spun gold. I remembered a similar view from the same spot more than 40 years before, although on that occasion instead of only two islands above the cloud there were then about a dozen—the tips of the highest peaks in the Lake District, miles apart, with the cottonwool ocean between them. Soon after dawn the following day in that August of 1929, after a cold night on the summit, we saw the Scottish hills clearer than I have ever seen them since. The familiar shape of the Isle of Man, and, beyond, quite distinctly, the mountains of Mourne in Ireland. A view of a lifetime.

A. HARRY GRIFFIN

If you're in the mind to listen...

MENTALLY ILL. Mentally handicapped. Public reaction and sympathy to the many in these conditions tends, surprisingly perhaps, to be blunted by semantic confusion. LINDA CHRISTMAS reports on the need to both end the confusion—and to improve treatment and conditions.



THIS is Mind Week. By the end of it the National Association for Mental Health hopes that no one in this country is left doubting that the mentally ill and the mentally handicapped are a problem.

A monumental problem which, although lacking the magnetic appeal of the homeless or pollution, demands not just the public's sympathy and money, but its united voice in pleading with Government and local authorities to get moving with research and new facilities.

At this juncture, however, it seems unlikely that millions will be marching homeward muttering "There but for the grace..." and digging deep for cash—because there is confusion in their minds. Blinded by statistics and shorthand descriptions they do not know the difference between mental illness and mental handicap—"if you're mental, you're mad, aren't you?"

To care you must first comprehend.

Mental illness is an illness needing curative, therapeutic treatment by doctors, nurses, and, maybe, hospitals. It can be sudden and short; it is mostly curable and sometimes recurring. Mental handicap is not an illness, but an innate condition for which there is no cure.

Adding a further complication, the term "mental disorder" has been coined, for brevity, to describe the two together. One slip of a word and the statistics are a meaningless mess and the NAMH are once again going purple in the face explaining the difference.

The confusion stems mainly from the 1959 Mental Health Act which, for the first time, differentiated between "illness" and "handicap" and legislated for the two in the same bill. Since then the public has been gradually made aware of the difference.

Then along comes the Mind Campaign inadvertently adding to the confusion. For the campaign, started earlier this year under the chairmanship of David Ennals, to raise money for the NAMH, is concerned with both mental illness and handicap.

In the early stages the Association was, if anything, more concerned with the handicapped than the ill, but with all the publicity given to the horrors of Farleigh and Ely and the resulting White Paper, "Better Services for the Handicapped," there has been a shift of emphasis to the mentally ill. Mind Week, then, is basically to give publicity to the ill with a "spin-off" for the handicapped.

Overcrowding

Unavoidably, the two conditions are vying—just a little—with each other for attention and money. Therefore, once the confusion is sorted out, there is a lot to be said for campaigning for the two at the same time.

For, as statistics show, neither is more important, more pressing or more worthy of attention than the other.

In England there are 190,714 mentally ill people in hospital or in the care of local authorities, and 157,650 mentally

handicapped. There are 165 hospitals for the mentally ill, 53 with more than 1,000 beds; and 198 hospitals for the handicapped, 17 with more than 1,000 beds.

Both categories of hospital are overcrowded. Fifteen per cent of the patients in mental illness hospitals in England and Wales are in wards of 50 or more beds, as are 25 per cent of patients in hospitals for the handicapped.

Both are short of staff. There is one consultant to 110 mentally ill patients and one to 496 handicapped.

These figures might show the handicapped to be the more "disadvantaged," but while the number of handicapped remains static—at about one in 100 births—the numbers of mentally ill are rising dramatically.

The number of first admissions to hospitals in England and Wales has almost doubled between 1960 and 1969, from 58,561 to 92,743, and it is now estimated that one in six women and one in nine men will enter hospital at least once in their life because of mental illness.

Millions of people take tranquillising and anti-depressant drugs. 36.5 million working days were lost last year in Britain through mental illness, and on and on... and yet with almost half, 45.2 per cent, of patients in NHS hospital beds suffering from mental disorders, only 13.5 per cent of NHS expenditure goes on hospital and community services for the mentally ill and handicapped. This proportion has remained virtually constant since 1961.

This is what Mind Week is all about. By publicising the plight of the mentally ill, the NAMH aims to encourage Government, local authorities and "all other responsible bodies in the field of mental health" to improve conditions in hospitals, to increase research into both mental illness (especially schizophrenia) and handicap, and, most important of all, to increase the provision of community care.

It is at this particular point, whatever the difference in other needs and treatment, that the two conditions come together. There are too many mentally ill and handicapped in hospital who, if they had some place else to go, need not be there.

Alternatives

General medical opinion puts the percentage of handicapped who could be "outside" as high as 50 per cent, or 30,000. The NAMH, basing its figures on discussions with several hospitals, puts the percentage of mentally ill at around 10 or in numbers 10,000.

The principle of community care was accepted in 1959 but the Act did not make it mandatory for local authorities to provide alternatives to hospitals. The result is little steps and not big strides have been taken.

After Mind Week, and nine months of Mind Campaign, the NAMH hope to have not only the public support necessary to start bombarding the Government with demands for action, but also the money to take a few more strides on its own.

Inflation at a stroke

Sir,—So the Tory three-line whip on the Common Market will simply indicate a "request for support" (Mr Heath, on "Panorama").

It is obvious then that the Prime Minister is not restricting his inflationary activities to one or two points concerning recent amendments to the Government's Immigration Bill, which were passed in the House of Lords last week.

Whatever the Government's view of the events of the debate on the report stage, three major concessions have been extracted from them, mainly as a result of Liberal pressure and initiative which had the backing of a significant section of the House. In the Lords alone we tabled well over 50 amendments.

This declaration may well coincide with the withdrawal of the new half penny—Yours faithfully,

L. S. Russon.

19 Warwick Avenue, Carlton-in-Lindrick, Worksop, Notts.

Sir,—May we anti-Marketters take a little comfort in remembering that, even if October 28 is henceforth to be celebrated as the anniversary of Pompidou's victory over Heath, October 21 is the anniversary of Trafalgar and October 25 of Agincourt? The week has been well chosen.—I am, etc.

Hugh Ross Williamson, 193 Sussex Gardens, London, W2.

How to labour effectively

Sir,—I believe that Tony Crosland has raised a most important issue on how the Labour Party might prepare itself once again for office, and I am sure that my good friends Tom McNelly and Terry Pitt (October 14) will agree that the time has now arrived for proper discussion on the whole question of policy making inside the party.

The functions of Transport House as I see them are: first, the initiation of long-term policy and its endorsement in the daily work of the party after consultation with its members. Secondly the publicising of these agreed policies and thirdly the coordination of head office with local party organisations and the preparation for elections. At present these functions are carried out by the research, overseas, press and publicity, and the national agents departments respectively. Over all is the NEC with its home, overseas, publicity, organisation, finance and general purposes sub-committee. For three functions we have four departments directed by five committees, six if the NEC is included, showing that there can be no clear chain of command and a considerable overlapping of functions.

When it is remembered that the general secretary of the party has other important rôles to play, and that the people who sit on sub-committees are extremely busy politicians or trade unionists with many additional commitments, one can see why the formulation of policy and its presentation is often confused.

I believe that the deputy general secretary should be put in overall charge of coordinating these overlapping functions. Any reconstruction of Transport House must take account of the need for a high-powered research department. Nevertheless Mr Terry Pitt or whoever holds the appointment should be given

Liberal initiative

TO THE EDITOR

Sir,—Permit me, through your columns, to draw attention to one or two points concerning recent amendments to the Government's Immigration Bill, which were passed in the House of Lords last week.

Whatever the Government's view of the events of the debate on the report stage, three major concessions have been extracted from them, mainly as a result of Liberal pressure and initiative which had the backing of a significant section of the House. In the Lords alone we tabled well over 50 amendments. As a result of their defeat on one of these amendments that the Government was forced to write into the Bill the principle that nothing in the present Bill would affect the rights of Commonwealth citizens already settled in this country.

Expensive concord

Sir,—Should we not add the development costs of the Concord to the cost of joining the Common Market, under the heading of entertainment expenses?—Yours sincerely,

Michael Hurdle, Guildford, Surrey.

In defence of baby's bottle

Sir,—I feel the only shame connected with a disposable feeding bottle for babies (Guardian, October 13) is the fact that it has not appeared on such a well-endowed disposable scene until now.

It is surely highly desirable that a baby's feeds are made as sterile as possible, and it is certainly simpler, and therefore safer, to have a new bottle each time than try to sterilise used bottles in the home.

Thank heaven for some of the disposable things without which our everyday lives would be a lot messier and much less hygienic, e.g. lavatory paper, sanitary towels and paper handkerchiefs, and be grateful for a disposable feeding bottle which is not—"another example of the wanton creation of waste" but a simple advancement of home hygiene.

(Mrs) Moya Harries.

Field House, Wenvoe, Cardiff.

House of Lords.

Wade

The Economist

In this issue:

Why Mr. Heath will probably win the next election

Is Europe heading for recession?

Sports Brief: Golf

An authoritative view for people who must be better informed.

Published Today

A Cut Loaf Sean Hignett

The story of Lavinia—a normal, extraordinary, happy, sad, hard, innocent woman, a woman who has known all the kicks and maybe has only the thrill of death left.

A fine and original follow-up to A PICTURE TO HANG ON THE WALL. £2.00

Michael Joseph

What in the world are we trying to do?

IF THE UN did not exist, it would have to be invented. That is the conventional answer when anybody asks whether the United Nations is really necessary. And yet, a few desultory conversations with the UN-weary diplomats who come to the General Assembly only to confirm the boredom and cynicism which the organisation has come to inspire.

The UN's balance sheet, deep in the red, shows that member states pay lip-service rather than hard cash towards its maintenance. The reluctance of the Big Powers to review the Charter demonstrates their cynical acceptance of the UN's steady drift to ineffectiveness. The qualifications sought for a successor to U-Thant—even more neutrality, blandness and indifference—shows that major powers simply do not want to entrust the United Nations with a positive role for international political cooperation.

The super powers do not feel they need the UN to promote their vital interests. The middle powers do not think it has much to give them either. Newly independent countries believe the United Nations have failed them.

New life?

The arrival of Peking, whether this year or next year, is anticipated with a mingling of fear and hope; fear that the Chinese Communists will disrupt the easy-going conventions of endless debates and meetings coupled to resolutions that can so easily be ignored; and hope that China will seek to import revolution to the organisation and put new life into it.

The delegates' lounge on the East River is New York's

most comfortable club. Sooner or later all who count in the world of diplomacy turn up. There is no shortage of political gossip and speculation, and delegates are as busy as ever—even if they no longer take themselves so seriously.

They ask why the US is so strenuously fighting for its 'Two China' policy while Dr Kissinger is in Peking arranging for President Nixon's visit. They speculate who took the initiative in fixing the US-USSR summit. Everybody speculates endlessly on the next UN Secretary General.

But outside this lounge, who really cares what the UN thinks and does? The other day, one of the less pious ambassadors to the UN wrote an article in the 'New York Times' making fun of journalists who tackle the diplomats at the bar and tell them of the great stories they are uncovering about UN goings on. The ambassador instructs how the Press

urge the delegates to spread the stories and help to make it newsworthy.

Ten years ago when I first came to the UN it seemed very different. We were all less cynical. There was a real sense of UN involvement with the major events of the day. There was the UN's controversial role in the Congo. Hammarskjöld had just been killed. The Soviet Union thought the United Nations sufficiently important to assert, vainly, that a new Secretary-General must accept a Troika—a senior directorate made up of an East bloc, a West bloc and a representative of the non-aligned countries.

Big and small powers still accepted—though already less than in the first flush of optimism—that the world organisation had an active role to play.

This attitude has largely evaporated. Few of the Big Powers worry about UN resolutions. The Security Council

is perhaps even more discredited than the General Assembly. The UN now is seen as little more than a convenience. During the General Assembly, and especially during the opening debate when foreign ministers come to New York, the organisation provides an invaluable facility for far-flung diplomacy, and all manner of problems can be raised in private meetings.

Wounding rhetoric

Whether their solution is actually advanced is debatable. One only has to look at the flurry of Middle East activity which always surrounds each assembly. Private diplomacy aimed at a settlement is matched by deeply wounding rhetoric in public debate.

In the field of economic development, where the UN certainly has much work to its credit, interest has also fallen off. Not enough money

is coming in, and the administration of the UN development programme is riddled by Byzantine quarrels. It has recently lost some of its best brains.

UN evaluation is unmistakable. Its more influential members devote much energy to preventing the UN's involvement in the major issues of the day. Vietnam is the most blatant example. Newly independent countries still persist in seeking to use the UN to secure complete decolonisation. But they feel betrayed and they blame the UN for perpetuating South Africa's power and allowing Rhodesia to exist.

Far from promoting the ideal of world government, the UN has accentuated and encouraged nationalism. The US, which contributes over a third of the budget, has long been arguing that the mini-states with tiny populations diminish the good name as well as the effectiveness of

the UN. In the past, the US has argued that small countries should not be granted full membership with voting rights in the General Assembly. But at this very moment the US is appealing to the mini-states to cast their votes and win the day for two China seats. This kind of cynicism hardly enhances a world organisation.

When disillusioned delegates try to justify the UN now they most commonly bring up a negative argument: its collapse, they say, would bring major discredit on the world. Perhaps the best hope for a more credible UN is that China and a new Secretary-General between them will force the membership to look at the UN Charter again, and introduce some measure of realism, as well as greater administrative efficiency. But, in the last analysis, the UN's effectiveness depends on the willingness of the major powers to use the UN, rather than pass it by.



Turkish forces move in on guerrilla kidnappers recently

Blood on the seams of society

As the Queen starts her Turkish tour, David Hirst in Ankara sends the first of three reports on a land falling prey to guerrilla violence

organising hand — often rather glibly assumed to be Russian — though the guerrillas seemed rather to draw on Chinese or Latin-American inspiration. There is widespread popular relief, not to say relief, at the way the army is crushing them. The university students, living in a rarefied intellectual atmosphere of their own, took it upon themselves to revolutionise a society which is not ripe for revolution, and by methods which were bound in the end to be suicidal.

They should have seen this coming. When they sallied from their university precincts to push American sailors into the sea, taxi drivers would come to the Americans' rescue. True the Dev Gen, the revolutionary youth movement out of which the guerrillas grew used to go out into the country to try, rather ineptly, to mobilise the peasantry — they even effected a kind of peasant jargon.

banditry in the East — as a means of redress — but, for the army, this new phenomenon injected into the Communist threat the potentially even more alarming one of Kurdish separatism. Officially the Kurds don't even exist — they are 'Mountain Turks'. Imagine the horror at the Dev Gen's assertion that the Kurds have the right to fight for self-determination, with the implied option of complete separation. The left-wing Turkish Labour Party had long raised the slogan, 'Peoples of Turkey. It was not for propagating communism but Kurdish separatism that the TLP has now been suppressed.

But what perhaps really drove the army to act was the fear that its own ranks were being infected by revolutionary propaganda. 'If the situation continued,' the Premier said, 'our army could have split apart.'

Hikmet, who wrote nostalgically Turkish poems from East European exile. A professor had his papers seized when the police searched Ankara University last week for escaped guerrillas. Officials say it is not so much publishing that counts but publishing plus other evidence of subversive intent. They can scarcely argue otherwise.

It is difficult to establish just how far those intellectuals who consider themselves to belong to the democratic Left are responsible for encouraging guerrilla excesses for which they are now all paying the price.

Distasteful murder

But there was also bomb throwing, car burning, bank robbery, kidnapping, and finally, a particularly distasteful murder. It is remarkable how very few people were killed considering the kind of place — like a school of the American-Turkish Association — where they occasionally put their bombs. Most deaths — about a score — occurred on campus in fights between students and police and between students themselves. The guerrillas could often treat their campus as an inviolable stronghold since, constitutionally, the security forces could only enter it with permission from the dean, who was often afraid to give it. The president of Ankara's Middle East technical college once admitted to a journalist: 'They are in that building over there, you can visit them but I can't.' When, last summer, the army and police stormed the block, they found an arsenal of guns, ammunition, and home-made grenades.

Turkey was also about to have its rural guerrillas, too. Among the many trials is one to be held in the eastern province of Diyarbakir. The East is the backward, neglected part of Turkey, home of five million or more long-oppressed Kurds. Gezmis and several colleagues are Kurds. Their rural counterparts, evidently linked, didn't have a chance to go into action. Apparently they were still building their organisation, training, storing arms in caves.

There is a tradition of

Freedom of speech

But the most serious victim of the anti-Communist backlash is freedom of speech. Under the penal code anyone who seeks to 'disrupt the basic economic and social order' by 'making propaganda in any way whatever for establishing the domination of one social class over another' can get up to 10 years in prison. For years this has hung like a sword of Damocles over the heads of left-wing writers — and now, for some of them, in the harsh political climate of today, the sword has fallen.

The academic community readily cite cases: Professors Tuncel and Ozkanaya were tried for translating a British scholar's selected writings of Marx; Suleiman Ege, a left-wing publisher, who has got seven and a half years for producing Lenin's 'State and Revolution', and faces three more trials for publishing the Communist Manifesto and two other works; Professor Savdi, on trial for giving a lecture on rights of disobedience the day martial law was declared; the banning of most works by Nazim

Harassed by Right

Mehmet Ali Aybar, founder of the Turkish Labour Party, told me how when they first held peaceable rallies back in 1963, they were harassed by right-wing extremists under the fairly benign eye of the Premier. The first university 'occupation' was by right-wing theological students and Premier Demirel — and others — said this was a normal excess of democracy. Demirel's Minister of the Interior, Faruk Gulbayrak, little about Colonel Turkes's commando training camps. It would appear that right-wing bigots, and they are real bigots in Turkey, began the spiral of violence but that the Left, at first defensive, bred its own extremists who then outdid their right-wing counterparts.

It was in an intensely emotional climate of hardening battle lines when right and left-wing students were killing each other on campus, that the left-wing professors, as one admitted, failed to speak out against terrorism. At best they seem to have fallen silent.

If the army has overreacted against the 'Communist peril' it remains far from true that Turkey has fallen into the hands of a 'sophisticated Greek junta.' It was not the ruling right-wing Justice Party, ousted in March, which publicly expressed the fear that it might eventually come to that. It was the left-wing secretary-general of Ataturk's Republican People's Party.

Fears that a permanent and direct army takeover might prove justified depend largely on whether the army, after restoring law and order, bears sufficiently in mind, and in the spirit of the times, that Ataturk was a great reformer and, if he did not practise democracy himself, painted Turkey in that direction.

Middling Ted

GREAT theories should not be built on the shifting pebbles of Brighton beach. The annual conferences of the parties, now merely concluded portents of their most untypical. The scale and intensity of the media coverage helps to turn them into something like the Paris fashion shows at which length of skirt or hotness of pants is dictated for the year ahead.

In fact the conferences are thoroughly misleading occasions. Who can seriously believe, for example, that the 81 vote in favour of the Common Market at the Tory conference last week is a real measure of opinion in the country or even in the Conservative Party?

The picture gets more blurred by the tendency at conference time to view each party in the image of the other. It has resulted this year in the false perception of the Tory Party shifting to the Right because the Labour Party was observed to have shifted to the Left. It makes a neat theory but it isn't true. As an antidote to the political overdoes of the past fortnight we need first to restore our attention to what the Government is actually doing.

The Government began to move back into the centre ground of politics last July when it set in motion a very substantial reflation of the economy in the form of a good old-fashioned consumer boom. At that point political and human consequences for which they are now all paying the price.

PETER JENKINS

inflation. It was that decision which effectively spelt the end of the unsuccessful and damaging 'lame duck' phase of Mr Edward Heath's administration. The substantial substance which the Government is making available to the Upper Clyde speak louder than the rhetorical echoes heard at Brighton last week.

At the Chequers meeting a few days before the conference the Cabinet reaffirmed and underscored the change of direction made in July. Unemployment and inflation were the two subjects chiefly discussed. Contrary to the public impression given that this was a satisfactory stock-taking (with a long list of election pledges ticked off) the actual effect of the meeting was to impress upon Ministers the underlying seriousness of the economic situation and in particular the dimension and complexity of the unemployment problem.

The result has been to further strengthen the hands of the moderates in the Cabinet—Mr William Whitelaw, Mr Robert Carr, Mr Reginald Maudling and, increasingly, Mr John Davies himself. The moderates had begun to make their weight felt in July when they pressed for reflation, warning against the danger of applying the economic whip too harshly

PETER JENKINS

during the winter of the Common Market. Now some of these Ministers are urging the dismissal of certain junior Ministers, notably those associated with the 'lame duck' approach. They now want to see the image of the Government brought into line with the change of policy already achieved.

Mr Heath's display of great firmness in his speech on Saturday—and indeed it was a tour de force of Prime Minister addressing party—needs close attention. Mr Heath is not an extremist, but he is a fanatic. For a British Prime Minister he is unusually possessed: he really does have a shining vision of the Britain he believes can rise from the ashes of the whole post-war period.

But Mr Heath is a politician none the less and any student of those animals will not neglect the possibility that when a Prime Minister insists he is doing a thing it may be that he is about to do another. 'A Government,' he declared on Saturday, 'must have the vision to look ahead, the intuition to find the path, the courage to lead the way.' The word 'intuition' stands out from this trilogy of virtues. Has the master plan served its day?

In his extravagant progress report on the 'quiet revolution' there were a good few hints that the worst of its Bolshevik phase is now over and that we are entering the period of the New Economic Policy. Now that we are being more moderate it's up to you to be moderate, he, in effect, said to the trade unions.

The 'concern' felt by Government would be demonstrated in 'positive action.' Above all, he gave lavish promise of lasting prosperity.

One of the misleading effects of conference-going is to see these matters in too ideological a light, in terms of shifts to Left or Right or in reference to the Peelite or Disraelian traditions. We shall discover few clues to Mr Heath from these angles. For he, like it or not, is now in the position of Prime Minister as conjurer. He must keep all the balls in the air while plucking rabbits from his sleeves. He has promised to perform the economic miracle: the Common Market, Ireland and Rhodesia are still in the air.

Mr Heath will need his 'intuition' if he is to realise anything of his 'vision.' In addition to his 'courage' he will need skill and downright cunning. The fascinating and dangerous game of High Politics now takes over from the vulgar distractions of the seaside.

Peugeot introduce the 504 Estates. Sheer panache—or a new bid for space supremacy?

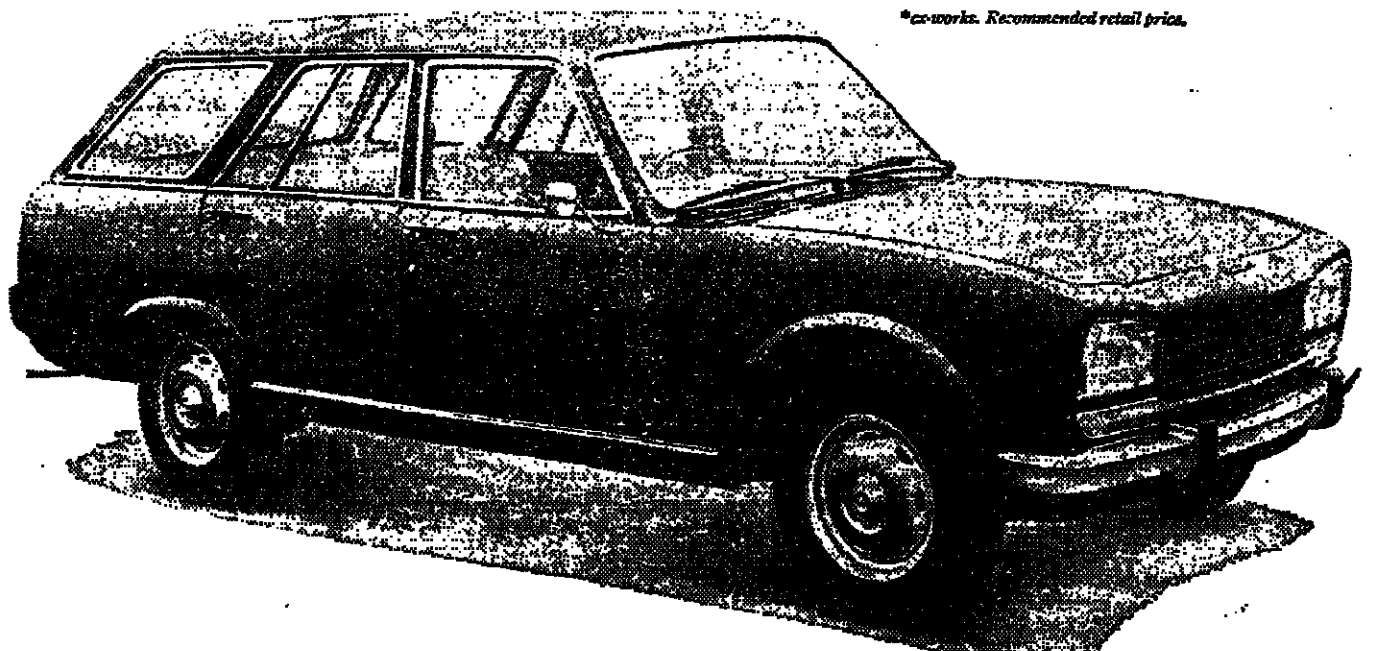
Let's face it, probably a bit of both. The Peugeot 504 estate has stacks of room for whatever you have in mind. Beehives or Davenport, golf clubs or water skis, Worcester Pearmain or whatever... It takes up to six in comfort. Plus a comfortable 40.6 cu. ft. of usable luggage space (66.4 cu. ft. with the rear seat down!) all carried in rare splendour.

The 504 family version has an extra folding bench seat so it takes two more people! And with the third seat down there's 22.95 cu. ft. of usable luggage space. It's just the thing for expanding families—and expanding cases.

But because Peugeot know that space isn't the only thing that counts, you'll find a lot of other particularly welcome touches.

Like individual armchair seats in the front for one thing. Fully adjustable. Fully reclining. Like built-in adjustable headrests. Because Peugeot insist that you're comfortable.

You'll also see a number of luxurious features: side window de-frosting and de-misting louvers; electric



PEUGEOT
The quiet individualists

MOTORING GUARDIAN

The sky's the speed limit . . .



IAN BREACH reveals all the secrets of the 1971 Motor Show which opens at Earls Court on Wednesday.

SPEAKING in a pub just off the Old Brompton Road last night, the sales director of a Midlands firm of radiator-cap manufacturers predicted big changes for the 1972 Motor Show. He refused to elaborate on his forecast, quickly switching the topic of conversation to double-glazing (his house in Tamworth has just been completely done for less than £200), the film, "Tora, Tora, Tora," which he saw when he came down to the Boat Show, and cat flu, which has been responsible for the death of his daughter's Seal Point.

It is impossible not to be impressed with this man's sense of time, his uncanny ability to put the present in context of past and future. Two typical off-the-cuff remarks during our conversation emphasised this: "Are you going to the Geneva Show next year?" he asked me; and, a little later, "Did you go to the Paris Show?" Close friends in the motor trade say it is this sort of perspicacity which has engendered such exemplary labour relations at the firm's works.

Earlier in the day, I was privileged to attend the party thrown by the publishers of a brand-new anthology of Maurice Austin's poems, commissioned specially for the Motor Show, an excerpt from which we have been given permission to reproduce here:

Motorway, most away, float away, far,
fossil-fuelled, frangible,
Master of everyone, servant of two;
Monocoque automaton, pressed out of steel,
Restyled and Restyled—rectangle
and wheel,
Motorway, boosterway, roost away,
Coast away, most away, one
quarter plastic;
Mastic, fantastic, amalgamate, real.
The stuff of the stuff of the stuff,
The ride of the smooth on the road
of the rough,
—from "Cars cars too," published
as a Piston Paperback.

The poem is printed with an introduction by Hanna Spanner, who describes Austin's work as "riveting in every sense of the word." Miss Spanner has recently returned from an international expedition up the east face of the Elger, where she was accompanied by J. Robert Oppenheimer, Yehudi Menuhin, Jackie Stewart, and Andy Warhol: she talked yesterday of this, her preparations for the North Pole Marathon, and her interest in the musique concrete

assembly in Tokyo, where she addressed violinists on the relationship between torque curves and the resonant frequencies in Barber's Adagio for Strings.

Miss Spanner is one of a panel of Arts Council officials who have recommended Austin's work for a main award in this year's Auto Section, but last night it looked as though the choice might be compromised by a new entry. Sponsored by Consolidated Timing Chains (1984) Limited, this will consist in the arrival at Earls Court tomorrow of a nude model, painted all over in metallic electric blue primer and strapped by her feet to the grab handles of an Italian coupé equipped with the firm's timing-chain system.

At a press conference held to launch the show, there were angry denials from the organisers that this could be the last of its kind. "The London Motor Show is the most important event of the year, and will go on for ever and ever and ever, because the motorcar will go on for ever and ever and ever," shouted one spokesman. Any change in the basic power unit for cars was hotly rebutted: "Electric cars? You've got to be joking," said a representative of the Electric Cars You've Got To Be Joking Association.

"Let's get this thing straight, once and for all," added the chairman, Sir Hector Twaddle, who in business life is a director of LGTTSOAFA, All This Guff About Safety, Pollution, Congestion. "For God's sake, let's have some hard facts instead of the emotive drive some of you chaps print. Let's get some of the excitement back into the business—a business, if I may be allowed to say so, with which I am proud to have been associated for 87 years." After briefly endorsing the recommendations on law and order, Sir Hector was applauded and helped from his bathchair into a waiting oxygen tent.

Near by, scores of Continental newspapermen were busy skilfully rewriting bulky documents obtained from the manufacturers and sending their contents over the telephone wires of Europe, to be printed in dozens of different languages in many strange lands. As I passed them, a lady in a black dress wearing a frilly white apron said to me, "You ready for another gin and tonic, dear?" I made my excuses and left.

Next week: Motoring Guardian returns to comparative sanity with a road test of the Cortina and a report on the National Road Safety Congress.

WE ASKED PETE (he's taking his finals this year) WHAT HE THOUGHT ABOUT THE NEW CORMARENGER.

WE ALSO ASKED HIS AUNT JANE (she took hers 25 years ago).



"WHEN I GRADUATE, I'll want a car that can get me from one town to the next as fast and comfortably as possible. Working as a quantity surveyor, I shall have to be pretty mobile, so I'll want a car that always starts first go, and doesn't stop until I turn off the ignition. I can't afford the earth—I'll have to remember that we're saving for the wedding next year. That's another reason for buying the Cormarenger."

"I WANT a car I can drive. So many cars these days seem to be built either for giants or dwarfs. I'm neither, and I'm not extreme about speed either. I don't crawl along in the slow lane when I take my daughter's little girl up to Newcastle: it's more than 200 miles, and I generally do the journey in just over three hours. But I don't want something that can do 150mph. You can't do that speed anywhere, can you?"

YOU MIGHT THINK we were happy enough to print what young Pete and his Aunt have to say about the Cormarenger, but we decided to put it to the test of the fiercest critics of all—the motoring correspondents of the national press, who are quite fearless in their independence. Here are a few views from these men:

"Quite the best car I've driven this year"—Kenneth Clutch, "Evening Orthodox," January.

"A slight amount of axle hop and wheel patter in severe understeer models gave me an initial impression of power/weight obesity, but it disappears with the discovery that the De Dion characteristics are perfectly, but perfectly, exploited; to a mind trained in Newton's mechanics rather than the ruder disciplines of Herr Daimler and his followers, it is all one could ask"—Lancelot Monocle, "Daily Maker."

"A fine tribute to an industry so many seem to have written off. This will give the 'moaning minnies' something to think about"—Jack Union, "Daily Blatherer."

WHAT MORE CAN WE SAY?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR The plus and minus of that extra year at school

Sir—Bryan Allen (October 12) makes a powerful case against the compulsory raising of the school-leaving age in 1973. In brief his argument is that teachers will not be able to cope with the new situation. I believe this to be valid. This is not because of a lack of willingness on the part of teachers, but because the issues involved can only be properly tackled in a radically different setting from that provided by schools.

Our own work at this Institute leads us to believe that the experience gained by young people in employment can be used most fruitfully for their general education. This indicates that it may be more important to implement the provisions to do with part-time education which exist in both the 1918 and the 1944 Education Acts.

A great deal could be done who is forced to stay on at opportunity.

Mr Allen says that for the great majority of 15-year-old leavers, there is no advantage for them staying on at school unless they are going to take examinations. May I remind Mr Allen that the purpose of education is not only to obtain pieces of paper at the end of a course of study. If the 15-year-old leavers in Mr Allen's school are wasting their time, it would appear there is something radically wrong with his school.

May I suggest that he might be profitably employed in rectifying this situation, rather than writing articles in newspapers. Jeff Davis, 48 Applegarth Drive, Newbury Park, Ilford, Essex.

Sir—Teachers and parents in comprehensive schools will surely applaud Bryan Allen's

article, "The Waste of an Extra Year." Children who do not voluntarily stay on at school are bored at school and can see no advantage in an extra year.

In many cases those who want to leave have been at a disadvantage since they were five years old when they first went to primary school. These are normal children who have mothers who do not talk to, play with or in any way encourage their child to understand the world into which they have been born.

Psychologists tell us time and again of the importance of the first five years of life and yet little is done to help those who need it most. Middle class families, who always take more advantage of State amenities than lower class families, realise the importance of nursery schools and send their children to private ones.

Surely money must be spent on opening State nursery schools in poorer areas. Teachers from these should go into the children's homes and encourage the mothers to come to the school and see how their children learn and develop. This would undoubtedly improve the quality of these children's lives and their education from 5-16 would benefit immeasurably. (Mrs) Gillian FitzHugh, Dalmeny House, Harrop Road, Hale, Cheshire.

Sir—If the attitude implicit in Mr Allen's article is typical of many headmasters in the country, then clearly the move is doomed to failure from the start. The article seemed depressingly negative for a number of reasons. We were given no information about any policy by Mr Allen for coping with the situation in his school; but since it is the move perhaps he opposes the move perhaps he tends that the problem does not exist. Certainly there is not much point in merely trying to formulate plans just for an extra year: the problem has to be faced in earlier years; and the curriculum is made-made, it is beyond the wit of man to bring about changes to cater for clients in the extra year? Whether or not these young stars merit resources spent on them, they form the greater part of the school population and one can only hope for more positive thinking as the move is planned on a nationwide basis to provide for them. P. J. Crawley, 82 Fleetwood Avenue, Holland-on-Sea, Essex.

WHICH PRESIDENT WAS THE LEAST DISASTROUS?

WALTER LIPPMANN (left), the noted political philosopher and journalist, discusses the quality of American leaders and the present and future state of the nation in this interview, the second of two parts. The interviewer, RONALD STEEL, who is writing Lippmann's biography.

Q: There's much criticism of the two-party system in America, that it doesn't offer any meaningful alternatives, that the problems facing society are so severe that when you're offered a choice with a Nixon and a Humphrey you're not dealing with real alternatives, and that represents a breakdown of the whole democratic theory. Do you think that there's substance to that argument?

A: I think that a country as big as this one could not be governed by a party system in which the two parties were diametrically opposed. I think you'd get a civil war. If all the extremists of one side were united in one party and all the other extremists in another, I think it would be bad. You can't keep 200 million people in the same political system unless you have a very strong centre, inconspicuous and often stupid, as American politics is, and the two-party system is, it's better than any alternative anybody has to offer.

For instance, the vitality of this system asserts itself. Nixon is now doing many of the liberal things that he said he wouldn't do, that the Democrats have been urging him to do. That's possible only in an illogical party system like ours. There is a difference between Nixon and Humphrey and it's enough difference. Our only trouble was that in 1968 where Humphrey differed from Nixon on the war, he was wrong. Nixon was the man who had to end the war and Humphrey was the man who had to defend it.

Q: You've lived through and written about many social crises in this country. Do you find the present situation unique?

A: It's much more severe because there are at least two things that have changed radically the nature of the crisis. One is the growth of population. The American political system never has experienced a time when it had to govern so many people, be governed by so many voters, govern for so many different purposes. The quantitative difference is a radical difference. Then there's the technological revolution which has changed the whole manner of life, where the agricultural community is no longer the majority of the nation. All problems get more severe if you multiply the number of people involved in them.

Q: Given the severity of these problems, compounded by racial animosity and the increasing anxiety of ethnic groups, do you think the effect is to corrode the democratic system in this country?

A: Yes, it is. I've never known a time when people had so little confidence in the future. They're afraid, they're not sure they're equal to it, and there is a great deal of difficulty about the future. But I don't think that that is irremediable. I think even with all our size and complications and so on, if there comes a group of leaders—and there may well—and they can strike the right note, the country will respond.

Q: But given the fact of really severe anxieties caused, among other things, by growing violence in the society and disrespect for social norms—not only law, but simply civility—do you see the danger of fascism in America?

A: There will be a danger. I don't think there will be fascism on a national scale—the country's too big for national fascism. But I think there will be local fascism. In local communities, majorities or strong minorities will rise up if they think they're threatened. And they'll use violence ruthlessly.

Q: The rise of extremist groups stems from anxieties in the society, which is something we've experienced before in our history. For example, during the Scopes trial in Tennessee in the 1920s (in which the legality of teaching the theory of evolution was at issue) you criticised the inability of intellectuals to take seriously the anxieties of simpler people whose traditional values were being undermined. What do you think is the responsibility of intellectuals in dealing with these anxieties today?

A: I think that one of the main responsibilities of an intellectual who writes and speaks is to be able to state the case or the grievance or the proposal or the will of more inarticulate people—more clearly than they are able to state it themselves. There's nothing so disgusting in criticism as to state the case of your opponent better than he can state it himself, and that is one of the roles of the intellectual—to make articulate and verbal and conscious the things that lie within people's minds, but that they are unable to put into words.

Q: Do you think that a certain amount of public sympathy to Spiro Agnew's attacks on the television stations and the press are related to these anxieties?

A: I do. I think the effective way to deal with Spiro Agnew is to state

the evils he was objecting to—and the are some genuine ones there—at least as well as he does, and instead attacking him, take the issues away from him.

Q: Much of the optimism about American society—that it has been successful and able to achieve the goals it sets—is under attack today. This something new in your experience?

A: Yes. That has come since 1950s. I think the frustration is largely due to the basic fact that the country promised to do things in the post-war world that it never had the slightest chance of doing. We are a country that overreached itself and is out of breath.

Q: I know you feel we've reached ourselves in foreign commitments, in being a kind of a policeman. Did you feel that the goal of the great society were overreached?

A: Yes. They were inflated. We're from the beginning of World War I. One until very recently in an atmosphere of terrific inflation, not men of the monetary system, but the inflation of our responsibilities. Our hopes and our promises were stretched wide and they had to be deflated. It is the role of Nixon in history, it's the role that he's only just beginning to play. And he's beginning to succeed with it. We have to deal in all directions. Nixon goes at saying he isn't deflating, but he is, he's going to have to do it.

Q: How would you rate Nixon President?

A: In 1968, when I decided that had to be for Nixon, it was because had come to the conclusion that were at the end of a period of probably 40 years of inflation of foreign policy commitments. We had missed two chances and committed ourselves to too much. There had to be a big deflation. And a man who was popular couldn't lose much by doing such a deflation, which is always unpopular thing to do. And I think on the whole he's proving to be a deflationist. He deflated his own Communist policy, which only he could do, and on the economic plane he's doing deflationary things which Democrats couldn't have succeeded doing considering the temper of the country. Deflation is necessary unpleasant.

Q: In your historical assessment, Nixon will go down as Great Deflator?

A: If I had to write his biography now, I would call him the Great Deflator and examine how he got the positions of deflation by various methods, such as Vietnam, particularly his China policy—always trying to do something else, getting there because the necessary events was behind him.

Q: Do you see any guiding principle behind Nixon's concepts of the presidency or his role as President?

A: His guiding principle, which I don't say in any disparaging way, is to be successful, to be re-elected. That, in the worldly world, is not a bad principle. After all, he's trying to be the saviour of the world, he isn't trying to build Communism, he isn't trying to be a whole lot of other things. He is doing what he can, which is to his credit. His presidency is a good quality in a statesman. These high-principled men who the world and ruin it are men who won't be expedient, won't compromise. Woodrow Wilson was a man like that. Franklin Roosevelt was a man like that.

Q: The Kennedy administration was in with flying colours and now we're beginning to look back at it. How do you feel about the policies that were followed at that time?

A: I don't agree with almost anything that the late Dean Acheson said but his recent estimate of Kennedy as a president I think was quite right. Kennedy was out of his depth, result is that we had that very generously inflated inaugural speech then we had the Bay of Pigs and a lot of other things, and the mess he was in during his meeting with Khrushchev at Vienna. Only in the last few months of his life did he begin to get more or less in their true proportion.

Q: Did the early years of the Kennedy administration set the path for the kind of foreign policy carried out by Johnson?

A: Yes. And it was the Kennedy appointees who carried it out. Rusk, McNamara, the Bundys. They were all Kennedy people.

Q: How do you think history judges the Johnson administration?

A: I think it will probably say it was involved in promoting the greatest disaster that happened in the country since the Civil War. It divided and hurt the country more than anything in a hundred years. It will give due credit for having passed legislation that was much demanded by the people and was on the whole necessary. But his foreign policy been a disaster.

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PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS

EDUCATIONAL

CITY OF MANCHESTER

SOCIAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT

ROSE HILL BOYS' REMAND HOME: APPOINTMENT OF TEACHER

Applications are invited from qualified teachers for a vacancy at Rose Hill Boys' Remand Home which accommodates 65 boys. The successful applicant will be one of a team of three teachers and in addition to normal teaching duties will be expected to assist in the supervision and management of the home. Salary: Manchester Scale plus 10% for residential duties. Applications and further details obtainable from: The Director of Social Services, Social Services Department, City of Manchester, 100 Market Street, Manchester M2 1JL. Closing date for applications: Monday, October 22, 1971.

Manchester Education Committee

OPENSHAW TECHNICAL COLLEGE

FE 72: LECTURER GRADE 1 to teach TELEPHONY

at all levels of the Telecommunications Technicians' Course previous teaching experience and ability to offer subsidiary subjects in Electronics Engineering or Telecommunications would be added recommendations.

Applicants for this post must possess the C.E.L.L. Full Technological Certificate in Telecommunications, or equivalent qualifications and have practical experience in the use of electronic equipment. Salary: £1,350-£2,075 according to previous experience, to which will be added allowance in respect of residential duties.

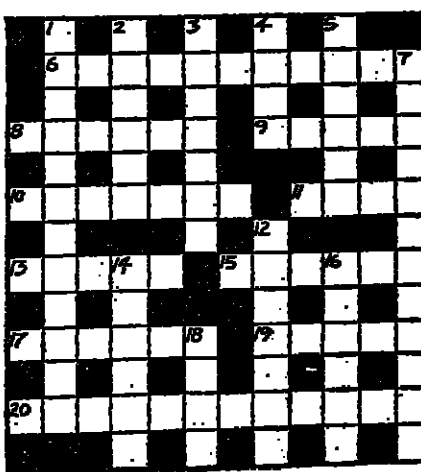
Application forms and further details available on receipt of self-addressed envelope from Education Officer, FE 72, Openshaw Technical College, Openshaw Lane, M20 5SR, to whom they should be returned by November 1, 1971.

QUICK CROSSWORD No. 531

ACROSS: 2. One of the USA (3, 4, 5). 3. Domestic tender (4). 4. Look out (6). 5. (4). 6. In short supply (6). 7. Muscular (6). 8. Stamp (7). 9. Inclination of a surface (6). 10. Eminent person (5). 11. Ten green (7). 12. Prey (6). 13. Checked material (6). 14. (6).

DOWN: 1. Confusion (12). 2. Cricket official (6). 3. Involve deeply (7). 4. (6). 5. Associates (12). 6. Match (7). 7. Wanderer (6). 8. Formidable person (6). 9. Ebor (4).

Solution No. 530: Across: 1. Feet; 3. Students; 8. Rush; 9. Agitated; 11. Contraband; 12. Fire; 13. Fire-engine; 21. Integers; 23. Bore; 24. Parapets; 25. Asps. Down: 1. Pericles; 2. Detonating; 6. Note; 7. Suds; 10. Cracking up; 13. Brave; 13. Tractors; 14. Idleness; 15. Lips; 20. Star; 22. Roll.



PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS

EDUCATIONAL

Chesterfield Borough Education Committee

ROTHAM JUNIOR SCHOOL

Headmaster: Mr. D. J. Egan. Required for January, 1972, a teacher with responsibility for MATHEMATICS in the school. The successful candidate will be expected to teach in the school and to be available for duties in the school. Applications and further details obtainable from: The Director of Education, Chesterfield Borough Education Committee, Town Hall, Chesterfield.

City of Salford Education Committee

CLARENDON SECONDARY BOYS' SCHOOL

Required for January, 1972, an experienced teacher with responsibility for the school. The successful candidate will be expected to teach in the school and to be available for duties in the school. Applications and further details obtainable from: The Director of Education, City of Salford Education Committee, Town Hall, Salford.

County Borough of Bolton Education (Technical)

LECTURER or SENIOR LECTURER with experience in teaching LIBERAL STUDIES in Further Education

Candidates should be graduates in History, Politics, or Economics and should have completed a full professional course of training for teaching and have a keen interest in liberal studies. Applications and further details obtainable from: The Director of Education, County Borough of Bolton Education (Technical), Town Hall, Bolton.

County Borough of Bury

BURY TECHNICAL COLLEGE

ASSISTANT LECTURER in GENERAL STUDIES to take a team teaching position

Applicants should be graduates in History, Politics, or Economics and should have completed a full professional course of training for teaching and have a keen interest in liberal studies. Applications and further details obtainable from: The Director of Education, County Borough of Bury, Town Hall, Bury.

Cumberland Education Committee

DERWENT CENTRE COCKERMOUTH

FURTHER EDUCATION TUTOR

at the above named centre from January, 1972. Candidates should be graduates in History, Politics, or Economics and should have completed a full professional course of training for teaching and have a keen interest in liberal studies. Applications and further details obtainable from: The Director of Education, Cumberland Education Committee, Carlisle.

Lancashire Education Committee

HEYWOOD: THE SUTHERLAND HIGH SCHOOL

Required for January, 1972, a qualified teacher with responsibility for the school. The successful candidate will be expected to teach in the school and to be available for duties in the school. Applications and further details obtainable from: The Director of Education, Lancashire Education Committee, Manchester.

Lancashire Education Committee

BURNFORD JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Required for January, 1972, a qualified teacher with responsibility for the school. The successful candidate will be expected to teach in the school and to be available for duties in the school. Applications and further details obtainable from: The Director of Education, Lancashire Education Committee, Manchester.

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PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS

EDUCATIONAL

DROLYSDEN LITTLEMOSS BOYS' COUNTY SECONDARY SCHOOL

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Lancashire Education Committee

DARWEN SPRING BANK COUNTY SECONDARY SCHOOL

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Lancashire Education Committee

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S HIGH SCHOOL

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Lancashire Education Committee

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SEYMOUR PARK COUNTY JUNIOR SCHOOL

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North Riding

THE WINDLEYDALE SCHOOL

Required for January, 1972, a qualified teacher with responsibility for the school. The successful candidate will be expected to teach in the school and to be available for duties in the school. Applications and further details obtainable from: The Director of Education, North Riding Education Committee, Scarborough.

North Riding Education Committee

OLDHAM

Required for January, 1972, a qualified teacher with responsibility for the school. The successful candidate will be expected to teach in the school and to be available for duties in the school. Applications and further details obtainable from: The Director of Education, North Riding Education Committee, Scarborough.

North Riding Education Committee

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OLDHAM

BELL'S

SCOTCH WHISKY

"Afore ye go"

SHAREHOLDERS' GUARDIAN

A MARKET ANALYSIS SERVICE INCLUDING
CAPITALISATION AND NET ASSET VALUE

IN THIS NEW once-a-week statistical investment breakdown of 1,000 companies, exclusively prepared for the Shareholders' Guardian by the price graph computer, the price quoted is the official closing price on Friday, in pence. The price-earnings ratio is based on the last full year's figures, except where there is an official company forecast for the current year. In either the historic payment or an official forecast, except in the following cases: where there has been an increase in the interim to

"reduce the disparity between interim and final payments," an unchanged total is assumed. Where there is no qualification from the chairman or where the advice is that an increase in the total dividend is expected, an unchanged final is assumed and added with the increased interim payment. In the event of a cut in the interim payment the rate of the final dividend has been scaled down proportionately, arriving at the dividend rate shown. If the interim is passed, no figure will be given. In the event of the

resumption of payments without any firm official forecast, a "nil" final will be assumed whether or not the chairman intimates the possibility of a final to follow. Bonus payments will be included in the rate where they are regularly paid, i.e. paid for at least two successive years.

The market capitalisation takes in the value of all classes of equity capital. The final column shows net assets per share in new pence. This is calculated on the tangible assets shown in the balance sheet, with

adjustments where official and realistic up-to-date valuations are shown in the footnotes to the accounts. Quoted investments, for instance, would be taken at their market value rather than the cost price shown in the balance sheet; and where directors put a firm valuation of property surpluses, this too would be taken into account. Where no realistic asset position can be given, such as in the case of banks and insurance firms with inner reserves, or some mining companies, no figure will be shown.

BANKS & DISCOUNT HOUSES

Alexander's Bank	320	19.5	14.6	1.1	4.4	11,891	11.00
Allenby Harpur	383	15.0	14.0	1.0	3.0	6,810	11.00
Bank of Australia	270	11.1	10.0	1.0	3.0	33,439	48.00
Bank of N. Z. Bank	270	11.1	10.0	1.0	3.0	33,439	48.00
Bank of India	270	11.1	10.0	1.0	3.0	33,439	48.00
Bank of Scotland	270	11.1	10.0	1.0	3.0	33,439	48.00
Bank of Siam	270	11.1	10.0	1.0	3.0	33,439	48.00
Bank of China	270	11.1	10.0	1.0	3.0	33,439	48.00
Bank of Japan	270	11.1	10.0	1.0	3.0	33,439	48.00
Bank of Korea	270	11.1	10.0	1.0	3.0	33,439	48.00
Bank of Ceylon	270	11.1	10.0	1.0	3.0	33,439	48.00
Bank of Malaya	270	11.1	10.0	1.0	3.0	33,439	48.00
Burston Group of Comm.	163	18.4	15.0	1.8	3.0	14,320	11.00
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Slow pace was all against Celtic Cone

By RICHARD BAERLEIN

It took the Cesarewitch 11.09 above the average, only the second half of the growth curve had been reached, the times confirm that race had been run at a slow pace. This was all against those which require a strong pace, including the Celtic Cone.

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Start with Beryl's Song

By SIMON CHANNON

Two juvenile fillies look the safest propositions at Leicester this afternoon. Beryl's Song (2.0), who is held in high esteem by her connections, is the one to watch.

Completed in 11.09 above the average, only the second half of the growth curve had been reached, the times confirm that race had been run at a slow pace. This was all against those which require a strong pace, including the Celtic Cone.

Britain are plagued by bad luck

By HAROLD MATHER: Great Britain 14, New Zealand 17

The Rugby League record books of the future will show that at Castleford on Saturday New Zealand beat Great Britain 17-14 in the second Test and so became the first "all New Zealand" side to win a Test series in this country.

Some calculated revenge by the two favourites

By DAVID GRAY

The favourites safely took the titles in the first of this year's Dewar tournaments at Edinburgh. Bob Hewitt and John McEneaney, the two favourites, were the winners.

Lutz beats Borowiak

Bob Lutz of the United States beat his fellow-countryman Jeff Borowiak, 6-3, 6-7, 6-2, to win the international professional tennis tournament at Cologne yesterday.

Smith to miss S. Africa

The American tennis player, Stan Smith, said yesterday he would not compete in the world professional "classic" in Johannesburg next month.

Chess Championships brilliancies

By LEONARD BARDEN

Defence (Batsford, 182 pages, £2.10). The standard reference work on this important opening.

The Cino Del Duca Cup

By RIKI MARKUS

No bridge tournament can yet compete in scale with the Cino Del Duca Cup. A great lady, the widow of the late Cino Del Duca, sponsors this championship to keep alive the memory of a newspaper king who was also a most generous character and a passionate bridge player.

Fontwell

By RICHARD BAERLEIN

Completed in 11.09 above the average, only the second half of the growth curve had been reached, the times confirm that race had been run at a slow pace. This was all against those which require a strong pace, including the Celtic Cone.

Double in rance r Carson

Mr Piggott, out of luck at the start on Saturday, struck again at Longchamps yesterday winning the Prix de la Juerie on Alec Head's

Bridge

By RIKI MARKUS

Declarer took the trick in his own hand and fished the hearts successfully. East returned the 8 of diamonds, which declarer let run to West's queen, and West played a heart. Declarer then cashed his five heart winners, coming to the following position:

West led the 8 of clubs.

John Rodda discusses the implications following the meeting over the week-end of the British Amateur Athletics Board, who are still unable to give plans for Olympic year

Survivor's
class is
telling

Tennis
BRITISH PROFESSIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP (Queen's Hall)—Final: F. Whills (Manchester, holder) beat N. Gripps (Queen's Club) 5-6, 6-5, 6-0, 6-6, 6-1, 1-6, 6-1.

The Pakistan left back, Aslam, was sent off in the 40th minute for a foul on Kruijs, which ended the game for the Dutch, centre forward, Netherlands brought on a substitute, but while Pakistan were down to 10 men Dar brought

match to play in their group of five countries, India hold six points which is sufficient to give them first or second standing in the group table and thus a place

SATURDAY'S RESULTS.—Pool A:
India 1. Argentina 0. France 1. Kenya
0. Pool B: Pakistan 1. Japan 0.
Spain 0. Netherlands 0.

STANDINGS IN TABLE

Pool A:	P	W	D	L	P	A	Pts
India	1	2	0	0	4	0	2

Then St Helier tried new tactics. With the ground surface wet, they tried to beat the defence with

Consistency also was the Welch's strong point outside

championship rugby are included in the Devon side to meet Cornwall at Devonport on Saturday.

who discovered that their stage of the first half an became sometimes a considerable nuisance in the wet and grass.

James
inspires
Oxford

championship rugby are cluded in the Devon sides meet Cornwall at Devonport on Saturday.

in- who discovered that their
to tage of the first half an
on became sometimes a cum-
nuisance in the wet and
grass.
For the last 25 minutes

LACROSSE

Perrin in decisive mood

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SATURDAY'S RESULTS.—Pool A:
India 1. Argentina 0; France 1. Kenya
0. Pool B: Pakistan 1. Japan 0;
Spain 0. Netherlands 0.

STANDINGS IN TABLE

Pool A:	P	W	D	L	P	A	Pts
India.	1	2	0	0	4	0	2

Then St Helier tried new tactics. With the ground surface wet, they tried to beat the defence with

Results and Football League tables

[illegible][illegible]

<p>CLUB CHAMPIONSHIPS PROJANA 2. S. Burton, 6. PROJANA 3. S. Burton, 6. PROJANA 4. S. Burton, 6. TRENT 4. D. Dery, 3.</p> <p>CLUB FINAL NOTTINGHAM 2. Nottingham University ESSEX KNOCK-OUT CUP. Om- ingham 1, West Essex 2 (net). Doncaster 1, West Essex 2 (net). KENT CUP. Preliminary round— Kent's Bank 4, Southdown 1. CLUB CHAMPIONSHIPS TOURNAM- ENT.—Bognor Regis 6, Grayslingwood 1.</p> <p>SOUTH WALES.—Cardiff Coll of Education 1, Bridgend 0. WELSH.—Swansea 5, West Glamorgan 0. Newport 3, Llanelli 2.</p>	<p>CLUB CHAMPIONSHIPS WILSON 1. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 2. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 3. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 4. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 5. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 6. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 7. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 8. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 9. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 10. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 11. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 12. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 13. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 14. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 15. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 16. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 17. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 18. W. Wilson, 2. WILSON 19. W. Wilson, 2. 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WILSON 100. W. Wilson, 2.</p>	<p>MIDDLESEX KNOCK-OUT CUP. Middlesex 1, Middlesex 2. GLoucestershire CUP. Gloucestershire 1, Gloucestershire 2. Wiltshire CUP. Wiltshire 1, Wiltshire 2. Devon CUP. Devon 1, Devon 2. Worcestershire CUP. Worcestershire 1, Worcestershire 2. Warwickshire CUP. Warwickshire 1, Warwickshire 2. Staffordshire CUP. Staffordshire 1, Staffordshire 2. Shropshire CUP. Shropshire 1, Shropshire 2. Cheshire CUP. Cheshire 1, Cheshire 2. Lancashire CUP. Lancashire 1, Lancashire 2. Yorkshire CUP. Yorkshire 1, Yorkshire 2. Northamptonshire CUP. Northamptonshire 1, Northamptonshire 2. Bedfordshire CUP. Bedfordshire 1, Bedfordshire 2. Hertfordshire CUP. Hertfordshire 1, Hertfordshire 2. Essex CUP. Essex 1, Essex 2. Surrey CUP. Surrey 1, Surrey 2. Gloucestershire CUP. Gloucestershire 1, Gloucestershire 2. Wiltshire CUP. Wiltshire 1, Wiltshire 2. Devon CUP. Devon 1, Devon 2. Worcestershire CUP. Worcestershire 1, Worcestershire 2. Warwickshire CUP. Warwickshire 1, Warwickshire 2. Staffordshire CUP. Staffordshire 1, Staffordshire 2. Shropshire CUP. Shropshire 1, Shropshire 2. Cheshire CUP. Cheshire 1, Cheshire 2. Lancashire CUP. Lancashire 1, Lancashire 2. Yorkshire CUP. Yorkshire 1, Yorkshire 2. Northamptonshire CUP. Northamptonshire 1, Northamptonshire 2. Bedfordshire CUP. Bedfordshire 1, Bedfordshire 2. Hertfordshire CUP. Hertfordshire 1, Hertfordshire 2. Essex CUP. Essex 1, Essex 2. Surrey CUP. Surrey 1, Surrey 2. Gloucestershire CUP. Gloucestershire 1, Gloucestershire 2. Wiltshire CUP. Wiltshire 1, Wiltshire 2. Devon CUP. Devon 1, Devon 2. Worcestershire CUP. Worcestershire 1, Worcestershire 2. Warwickshire CUP. Warwickshire 1, Warwickshire 2. Staffordshire CUP. Staffordshire 1, Staffordshire 2. Shropshire CUP. Shropshire 1, Shropshire 2. Cheshire CUP. Cheshire 1, Cheshire 2. Lancashire CUP. Lancashire 1, Lancashire 2. Yorkshire CUP. Yorkshire 1, Yorkshire 2. Northamptonshire CUP. Northamptonshire 1, Northamptonshire 2. Bedfordshire CUP. Bedfordshire 1, Bedfordshire 2. Hertfordshire CUP. Hertfordshire 1, Hertfordshire 2. Essex CUP. Essex 1, Essex 2. Surrey CUP. Surrey 1, Surrey 2. Gloucestershire CUP. Gloucestershire 1, Gloucestershire 2. Wiltshire CUP. Wiltshire 1, Wiltshire 2. Devon CUP. Devon 1, Devon 2. Worcestershire CUP. Worcestershire 1, Worcestershire 2. Warwickshire CUP. Warwickshire 1, Warwickshire 2. Staffordshire CUP. Staffordshire 1, Staffordshire 2. Shropshire CUP. Shropshire 1, Shropshire 2. Cheshire CUP. Cheshire 1, Cheshire 2. Lancashire CUP. Lancashire 1, Lancashire 2. Yorkshire CUP. Yorkshire 1, Yorkshire 2. Northamptonshire CUP. Northamptonshire 1, Northamptonshire 2. Bedfordshire CUP. Bedfordshire 1, Bedfordshire 2. Hertfordshire CUP. Hertfordshire 1, Hertfordshire 2. Essex CUP. Essex 1, Essex 2. Surrey CUP. Surrey 1, Surrey 2. Gloucestershire CUP. Gloucestershire 1, Gloucestershire 2. Wiltshire CUP. Wiltshire 1, Wiltshire 2. Devon CUP. Devon 1, Devon 2. Worcestershire CUP. Worcestershire 1, Worcestershire 2. Warwickshire CUP. Warwickshire 1, Warwickshire 2. Staffordshire CUP. Staffordshire 1, Staffordshire 2. Shropshire CUP. Shropshire 1, Shropshire 2. Cheshire CUP. Cheshire 1, Cheshire 2. Lancashire CUP. Lancashire 1, Lancashire 2. Yorkshire CUP. Yorkshire 1,</p>
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ners): 2. London University, 11-53
posed division winners): 3 equal.
1. Cambridge, Kingston,
and London, 11-06.
head: Tynes School and Univer-
College School, 13min. 17sec.

[illegible]

Services

Sidcup 24, US Portismouth
Ken Bushell, Sidcup's 24, led full back, scored 16 yesterday when they beat Portismouth 24-8 at Crayke Farm in the preliminary of the National Knock-out. The Services cancelled Saturday fixture at Devon.

sis with difficult kicks in
on near touch as the 8
lek, with Peter Reynolds
ounding, forced the Servis
tend desperately.
Skidcup hoped to meet
with in the first round of
the competition. In order
to they must first get
switch.
